

1921
B739

ASPECTS OF CHILD LIFE IN EARLY CLASSICAL LITERATURE

BY

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Ph. B. University of Chicago, 1920

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN CLASSICS

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1921



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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

June 1, 1921

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Margaret Morrison Brayton
ENTITLED Aspects of Child Life in Early Classical Literature.

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts in Classics.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There seems to be a wide-spread belief that children in the period of classical antiquity were not only apt to be neglected, but often positively abused, that this attitude prevailed down to the introduction of Christianity with its conception of the Christ-child, and that it was not until the nineteenth century which has been called frequently¹ "The Century of the Child" that childhood began to assume its proper importance in the social order. We find that in such fields as art, literature, sociology, ethics, and philosophy, writers are prone to believe that the origin and development of due respect for childhood have been the outgrowth of Christianity upon the world.

That early Greek art was not concerned with the details necessary for a realistic delineation of children is evident from the monuments themselves, and has often been observed by writers in that field. For example, Professor Percy Gardner says,² "In the fifth century the forms of men and women are ad-

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- 1.-Baldwin, H.C.: Wordsworth and Hermes Trismegistus.
Mod. Lang. Ass., 1918, XXXIII, 2, 235.
Green, John A: Inter. Study of Child Welfare.
The Child. vol.1, Oct. 1910, p.7.
Engel, Samuel: Elements of Child Protection.
Trans. from the German by Dr. Ellen Paul, p.V.
2.-Gardner, Percy: Principles of Greek Art, p.134.

mirably given, but the bodies of children are poorly rendered. They appear in far too developed form, as little men and women; and although doubtless in the climate of Greece, the bodily forms ripen earlier, this is an exaggeration." Kekulé von Stradonitz states that same idea in the negative when he writes,¹ "Greek art arrived very late at special representation of children and at intimate scenes in which children assumed an important and independent rôle." Another writer on Greek art expresses the common view upon the Greek attitude toward children in this period when he says,² "The helplessness of infancy, though it had always been under the special protection of Hermes Kourotrophos, was the object of pity rather than of interest or of love."

The theory that belief in the sacredness of children came to Wordsworth not through the classics but from Hermetic literature, the books of which were attributed to the legendary Egyptian god Thoth, finds expression in the statement of Professor E.C. Baldwin,³ ^{to the effect that} "the first Roman laws to safeguard children were passed by Constantine, 315 A.D. at the instigation of the rhetorician Lactantius, who was an admirer and stu-

1.-Kekulé von Stradonitz: Die Griechische Skulptur, p.222.
 2.-Smith, S.C. Kaines: Greek Art and National Life, p.238.
 3.-Baldwin, Edward Chauncy: Wordsworth and Hermes Trismegistus, p.242.

dent of the Hermetical books, judging from the twenty-five references made to them in his Divine Institutes which was the decisive factor in influencing Constantine to make these laws".

Those sociological workers who to-day are concerned with child welfare are prone to believe themselves pioneers in this phase of service to society. Florence Davenport Hill writes "One of the most striking and significant contrasts between ancient and modern thought is the difference of attitude toward the past and future which characterizes these periods---- Nowhere is its effect more apparent than in the treatment of children----The work of faith is now no longer to glorify the past; it is the more laborious but cheerful task to benefit the present and take an enlightened care of the future. These nobler aspirations received a fresh and lasting impulse when Christ took the little ones under his sheltering care and began a new era for child life. Christianity has inspired the recognition of the rights of children which they themselves are too hopeless to enforce; it has quickened the sense of responsibility in parents while it makes all willing to sacrifice time and thought for the young."¹. Efforts to defend exposure of infants to die on mountain-sides

1.-Hill, Florence Davenport: Children of the State.
2nd ed by Fanny Howke, pp.1f.

on economic grounds are made by such a writer as Aristotle whose view was that where there were too many citizens, for in his ideal state population was limited, the babe¹ or unborn child was to be destroyed. But it is claimed that Roman parents during the empire followed this practice² to avoid responsibility, and that when any abandoned children were rescued the "purpose for which they were rescued was purely selfish. Under the Roman Law, they³ were slaves."

The attitude of the Stoic philosophers was the prevailing one of that period but their position has been severely criticized. Renner observes, "To the Stoics the true nature of the child was closed and it was reserved for Christianity to recognize and appreciate the divine in child nature ---- The Stoics saw the child as an undeveloped human being and offered the child as an example⁴ of negative attributes." But a more detailed exposition of this point of view was made by William Lecky when he wrote, "To the Pagans even when condemning abortion and infanticide, these crimes appeared comparatively trivial because the victims seemed very insignificant and their suffering slight. The death of an adult man who is struck down in the -----

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- 1.- Aristotle: Politics II 6, 10 ff. and IV (VII) 16, 19 ff.
Newman: The Politics of Aristotle I 186 ff.
 - 2.- Encyclopaedia Britannica: Infanticide, V, 861.
 - 3.- Slingerland: Child-Placing in Families, p. 28.
 - 4.- Renner, R: Das Kind: Ein Gleichnismittel bei Epiktet, p. 60 ff.

midst of his enterprise and hopes, who is united by ties of love or friendship to the multitudes around him and whose departure causes a perturbation and pang to the society in which he has moved, excites feelings very different from any produced by the painless extinction of a newborn infant, which having scarcely touched the earth, has known none of its cares and little of its love. But to the theologian this infant life possessed a fearful significance. The moment, they taught, the foetus in the womb acquired animation, it became an immortal being, destined even if it died, to be raised again on the last day, responsible for the sin of Adam, and doomed if it perished without baptism, to be excluded forever from heaven and to be cast, as the Greeks taught, into a painless and joyless limbo or, as the Latins taught into the abyss of hell. It is probably in a considerable degree to this doctrine that we owe in the first instance the healthy sense of value and sanctity of infant life which so broadly distinguished Christian from Pagan societies and which is now so thoroughly incorporated with our moral feelings to be independent of all doctrinal changes."¹.

Since there seems to be ^avery general belief

1.-Lecky William: History of European Morals II, p. 24f.

by writers in various fields that the civilization of the classical world has had no share in arousing in us concern for one of the paramount interests of society throughout the world to-day, it is the purpose of this study by investigating the remains of early literature of Greece, to try to determine to what extent this view is well founded.

CHAPTER II

HOMER

The references to children made by Homer in the Iliad and the Odyssey seem to fall naturally into three categories: those which deal with children in regard to their place and relationships in family life; those which suggest certain qualities of children; those which indicate the mutual attitudes of adults and children, particularly parents.

Those passages which deal with children in regard to their place and relationships in family life cover the period of infancy, one or two aspects of life in the home, and the parts children played in merry-making. The picture of the child in the mother's arms appears in the description of the departure of Odysseus: "Verily we left her a bride new wed when we went to ^{the} war, and a child was at her breast"¹; or again when Hector takes leave of Andromache, "So spake he, and laid his son in his dear wife's arms; and she took him to her fragrant bosom, smiling tearfully"². Sometimes a nurse has charge of a child as in this same description when Andromache goes to the city gates to meet Hector, "So she met him now, and with her went her handmaid, bearing in her bosom the tender

1.-Odyssey XI, v. 448-9. All quotations from the Odyssey are from a translation by Butcher and Lang, London, 1900.
 2.-Iliad VI, v. 483-4. All quotations from the Iliad are from a translation by Leaf, Lang, and Myers, London, 1900.

boy, the little child, Hector's loved son, like unto
beautiful
 a star,"¹ or in regard to this same boy, "then in bed
 in his nurse's arms he would slumber, softly nestled,
 having satisfied his heart with good things";² and
 when he saw his father in arms, "the child shrunk cry-
 ing to the bosom of his fair-girdled nurse, dismayed
 at his dear father's aspect-----"³. Odysseus' nurse
 Eurycleia was important in his life and household, for
 "of all the women of the household she loved him most,
 and she had nursed him when a little one,"⁴. While Pen-
 elope recommends her as "a woman of understanding heart,
 that diligently nursed that hapless man, my lord, and
 cherished him and took him in her arms, in the hour when
 his mother bare him;"⁵. again in the story of the naming
 of Odysseus,⁶ Eurycleia gives the baby to the fond grand-
 father, asking him to name the boy. Telemachus appears
 to have had a man-servant to care for him, too, since in
 the fight with the wooers, he says to Odysseus: "let us
 save also the henchman Médon, that ever had charge of me
 in our house when I was a child."⁷. However, that the
 nurse did not assume complete care of the child is evi-
 dent in the lines, "She turned it just aside from the
 flesh, even as a mother driveth a fly from her child

- 1.-Iliad VI, v.397-400.
 2.-Iliad XXII, v.501-503.
 3.-Iliad VI, v.467-468.
 4.-Odyssey I, v.435-437.
 5.-Odyssey XIX, v.349-352.
 6.-Odyssey XIX, v.399-404.
 7.-Odyssey XXII, v.355-360.

that lieth in sweet slumber"¹. There are also several glimpses of home life in which children are included. Odysseus speaks of finding Aeolus feasting with his wife and children²; and Circe warns Odysseus that whoever hears the sound of the Siren's voice will never see wife and babies waiting for his return or rejoice at his coming³. Athene reproaches Odysseus with, "Right gladly would any other man on his return from wandering, have hasted to behold his children and his wife in his halls,"⁴. That children in the home were thought of as a joy and adornment may be inferred from Odysseus' speech to the swineherd: "Such an one was I in war, but the labour of the field I never loved, nor home-keeping thrift, that breeds brave children," in which the word translated "brave" denotes properly "bright, shining, beautiful"⁵. The description also of the vintage scene on Achilles' shield, in which girls and boys dance about a boy who plays on the viol, while they sing and frolic, swinging baskets of fruit, indicates that children also had a part in harvest celebrations and merrymakings which took place at that time of the year⁶.

1.-Iliad IV, v. 130-131.

2.-Odyssey X, v. 60.

3.-Odyssey XII, v. 40-42.

4.-Odyssey XIII, v. 332-334.

5.-Odyssey XIV, v. 221-225.

6.-Iliad XVIII, v. 567-572.

Those references which suggest certain qualities of children lead us to feel that children in antiquity were not at all different in many phases of their character from children of to-day. Their mischievousness is indicated in the reference to the rally of the Greeks around Patroklos like wasps "that boys are ever wont to vex, always tormenting them in their nests beside the way in childish sport---and they, if ever some way-faring man passing by stir them unwittingly, fly forth every one of them with a heart of valor and each defends his children!"¹. There is a reference to the boy who builds houses of sand and then tears them down,² which brings to mind a picture of children playing in the sand to-day. But the greater number of these passages suggest the weak and tender side of child nature, characteristics resulting simply from immaturity. The simile of the ass which gets away from the boys and takes his fill of the crop despite the blows and beatings of his helpless drivers³ is an indication of physical weakness, but I dare say the administration of the punishment was as enjoyable to these boys as it would seem to be even yet, judging from the treatment of hunt animals by the children of this generation.

1.-Iliad XVI, v. 258 - 263.

2.-Iliad XV, v. 330 - 334.

3.-Iliad I, v. 352 - 356.

The quality of timidity comes out several times, as in regard to Iachneus, "But fear took not hold upon Iachneus, as though he had been some tender boy"¹, and again in Hector's words to Achilles, "Son of Peleus, think not with words to affright the weak child"². Weeping children are frequently mentioned as in the comparison of Patroclus to the little girl who runs along beside her mother till she is tired out and cries till her mother takes her up and carries her³, and also in Odysseus' speech to the assembly when he says, "For like young children in winter when they wait each for the other of returning home"⁴. The lack of development not only physically but mentally, which the Greeks seem to have regarded as the essential characteristics of children is suggested in two passages in Hector's reply to Odysseus when he says, "Out on it, in very truth, you hold assembly like silly boys that have no care for affairs of war"⁵, or when Menelaos gives his opinion of Eteoneus with, "truly thou wert not a fool aforetime, but now for this once, like a child thou talkest folly."⁶ The tenderness of Troilus toward Achilles and in his infancy often "stained the lowest of my breast with spattering

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- 1.-Iliad VIII, v. 470 - 471.
 2.-Iliad XX, v. 199 - 200.
 3.-Iliad XVI, v. 7 - 11.
 4.-Iliad II, v. 290.
 5.-Iliad II, v. 345-347.
 6.-Odyssey IV, v. 39 - 41.

thy
 wine in sorry helplessness,"¹ the fact that even of his
 love for the child, he is willing to endure repeatedly
 this somewhat unpleasant experience in sharp con-
 trast to the manner in which he ^a dispatches the
 matter with, "At first the infant, mewling and pining
 in the nurse's arms"².

There is an indication of the intimacy and af-
 fection of parents and children in the passage, "For the
 heart of Tydides' son knoweth not this, that he of a
 surety is not long-lived that fighteth with immortals,
 nor ever do his children prattle on his knees at his
 returning from war and terrible fray"³. The word "prat-
 tle" is translated from $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota$ which means literally
 "saying papa" and therefore makes the picture more vivid
 than the translated word could do. Another instance of
 this more intimate terminology is found in the case of
 Cassandra who calls her father "papa"⁴.

Those references which indicate the mutual atti-
 tudes of adults and children, particularly parents, show
 generally a feeling of affection and respect and though
 the lot of orphans is an unhappy one, it appears that
 some provision was made for their maintenance, or they
 were adopted into other families. In Anacreon's plea

1.-Iliad II, v. 490 - 492.

2.-Shakespeare, As you Like It II, : 143.

3.-Iliad II, v. 406 - 408.

4.-Odysey VI, 33.

with Hector to stay out of the battle, and again in her lament at his death she describes the sorrow and misfortune, social ostracism and humiliating enmity which their son may suffer if Hector should not return¹. On the other hand Hector inspires courage in his women by reminding them that to die fighting is no disgrace and that their lives and children will be provided for.² The treatment of slaves and widows and children in a gentle and kinder manner is evident in several instances. In regard to Helen she is shown as her old-servant "Penelope reared, and entreated her tenderly, as she had been her own child, and gave her many things to her heart's desire,"³ and "she wept bitterly and wept for her own children Pelides, the natural son of Antenor"⁴. The desire of the women to protect their children is brought out in the comparison of Odysseus' tears to those of the women of "through herself willing to let her own life, arising from his town and children the Philo way",⁵ and in the reference to the honest woman who labors at the loom to win a living for her children⁶, and finally in the description of Teukros' method of fighting "behind his shield," "his child beneath his mother, so that he can

1.-Iliad VI, v. 438 - 441.

2.-Iliad XV, v. 494 - 500.

3.-Odyssey XVIII, v. 321 - 327.

4.-Iliad V, v. 68 - 70.

5.-Odyssey VIII, v. 581 - 587.

6.-Iliad XII, v. 421 - 425.

to Aias, who hid him with shining shield."¹ Also the father exhibits admirable qualities of parenthood in the Iphigenia story. Orestes is referred to as a lord of the people and "gentle as a father"². Priam shows anxiety and affection when he for his Polydorus, his youngest and favorite son, to enter battle,³ and again charity toward Hector, the husband of his illegitimate daughter. He "dwelt with Priam who honored him like his own children"⁴. Phoenix, Achilles' teacher, is a pathetic figure as he laments the curse fulfilled by the gods which deprived him of children⁵. One of the most characteristic pictures of fatherhood is that of Hector when he takes off the helmet which frightens the baby and cradling him in his arms, laughs and kisses him, at the same time praying to the gods for the child's safety and welfare⁶. On the other hand, that the love and esteem of parents and children were mutual is suggested by the reference to Arete, mother of Menelaos of whom it was said, "That she hath and hath ever had, all worship heartily from her dear children"⁷ and also by the lines, "even as when I am welcome to his children is the sight of a father's life who lies in sickness and strong

1.-Iliad VIII, v. 273 - 274.

2.-Odysey V, v.11 - 13.

3.-Iliad XX, v. 405 - 411.

4.-Iliad XIII, v. 174 - 177.

5.-Iliad IX, v. 453 - 457.

6.-Iliad VI, v. 468 - 469.

7.-Odysey VII, v. 70 - 73.

pains long wasting away, some angry gods assail him; and to their delight the gods have looked him from his trouble, so welcome to Olympus honor land and men."¹

However, among the Greeks and other nations of the world the readiness of war has spent itself upon children. Just as where your treasure is, there will your heart be also, so in the thick of the fight, those whom they treasure most, their wives and babies, have ever been uppermost in the thoughts of the soldier. Nestor makes the incentive to protect their families the basis of his appeal to the Greeks when they are about to flee. Hector insists upon seeing his wife and boy before the battle, for he fears never to return. Again his concern for the innocent and helpless is revealed in a speech to his men when he says ². "Listen ye countless tribes of allies that swell round about. It was not for mere numbers that I sought or longed when I gathered each of you from your cities, but that ye might zealously guard the Trojans' wives and infant little ones from the war-loving Achaeans." Helene the augur shows the desire to propitiate Athene in sacrifice that ³. "she will have mercy on the city and the Trojans' wives and little children."

1.- Odyssey V, 594-598.

2.-Iliad VI, 358 - 367.

3.-Iliad XVII, 219 - 226.

4.-Iliad VI, v. 93 - 95.

So it has always been. From Homer's time to the present day leaders have fought for money, land, social position, or political power but the rank and file of the common masses which they lead, followed faithfully, not so much for the sake of duty or glory as to preserve and defend their own families and friends. On the other hand, this deep concern for their wives and children has been justified at all times by the cruelty of the invaders. Priam describing the horrors of war, spoke of "his sons perishing and his daughters carried away and his children laid waste and infant children hurled to the ground in terrible war and his sons' wives dragged away by the ruinous hands of the Achaeans."¹ The treatment of children in Priam's account is not unlike that described by the Psalmist when he said, "happy shall he be that taketh and smeth down little ones against the stones,"² or by King Henry the Fifth who speaks of "your naked infants spitted upon pikes."³ It appears therefore that the Greeks have not been the only nation guilty of the murder of little children in a siege, but it seems justifiable also to conclude from reading any page of history that war has wrought upon children havoc of one kind or another at

1.-Iliad XXIII, v. 30 - 34.

2.-Psalm 137, v. 3.

3.-Henry V, III, 2, 38.

all times and in all nations.

It would seem from the consideration of the foregoing references that in the period of which Wordsworth writes, the relations of the Greeks to their children were intimate, kindly, affectionate, and such as all human beings bear towards their to-day. Shakespeare is notable for the realistic way in which he presents some of the nuisances of children, but although his own attitude may scarcely be distinguished, it seems that his characters neither love nor favor their selfishness, but rather philosophically accept children and their shortcomings as necessary to the order of things. The Old Testament writers were of a nation which held family ties so sacred that the idea of God as a Father of the human race became the basis of their religion, and they hesitated "to spare the rod and spoil the child". There was the foundation of the relationship of parents and children in ancient Israel, a foundation upon which was built fearful respect and loyalty.¹ On the other hand, Wordsworth presents the opposite side of the picture in his famous lines,

"But trailing clouds of glory do we come
"From God who is our King;
Heaven lies about us in our infancy".²

1.-The conclusions regarding the attitude of Shakespeare and Old Testament writers have been drawn after an exhaustive investigation of the references they make to children.

2.-Wordsworth - Intimations of Immortality.

In other words, he believed that the child comes into the world innocent and more nearly divine than is possible for him to remain, after coming into contact with the wickedness of the world. On this account, he maintains, the infant demands greater reverence and more careful rearing since it is closer than any other human life to its Maker. Diametrically opposed is the idea of St. Augustine¹ who held that children come into the world already steeped in sin and that such vicious habits as cruelty and abuse of helpless animals are proofs of this view. However, none of these unpleasant features of child life are suggested by Homer nor does he assume the attitude of Wordsworth in this matter. It must not be forgotten that our poet writes of gentle folk, the class of society which enjoyed all the careful education and rearing which were afforded at that time. But the impression he leaves is that aside from the atrocities committed by war-crazed soldiers, children were loved, respected and welcome in the society of their elders, precisely the same feeling which all civilized people have at the present day.

1.-St. Augustine's Confessions, with an English translation by William Watts, 1631 ---New York, Macmillan 1912.
I, VII, I, IX.

CHAPTER III

THE HOMERIC HYMNS AND HOMERICA

From the corpus of poems known as the Homeric Hymns and the Homeric, the references to children may be divided for the sake of convenience, into two parts: those which obviously indicate the attitude toward children assumed by the Greeks of that time, and those which, in order to determine their significance, demand a closer consideration.

The writers of this corpus, whether Homer himself or those who are included in the list of "Homeric" poets, present in the majority of cases a favorable attitude on the part of Greek society in general toward the rising generation. The very epithets which appear repeatedly throughout this corpus are convincing evidence that more than one writer had observed this feeling. Such terms as "glorious children",¹ "dear son",² "excellent son",³ "lovely children",⁴

1.-Delian Apollo, v.13. All quotations from this corpus are from the translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, London, 1904.

To the Dioscuri, v.3.

Epigrams of Homer, Ist, v.8.

Hermes, v. 130; v.148.

2.-Pan, v.35

The Story of Oedipus, v.7.

Hermes, v.245

Contest of Homer and Hesiod, v.414.

3.-Dionysius II, v.2.

4.-Helios, v.3.

Selene, v.13.

"sweet young boy",¹ are used frequently, casually, and as a matter of course. Physical beauty is emphasized in such passages as the simple statement which follows the account of the Demeter episode at the palace of Metaneira, "As for the child, he grew like an immortal being",² or when Aphrodite promises to show Anchises his son, "a scion to delight the eyes--you will rejoice in beholding him, for he ~~shall~~ be most godlike",³ or finally, "Lêto was glad because she had borne a strong son and an archer".⁴ In the Story of Oedepus there is a description of Haemon who was given in forfeit to the Sphinx and who was characterized as "the comeliest and loveliest of boys".⁵ The delight in their strength and beauty was no less prevalent than the desire for children themselves. Demophoon is spoken of as "a child of many prayers and welcome",⁶ and again as "this child whom the gods gave me in my old age and beyond my hope, a son much prayed for".⁷

1.-The Returns, 3, v.1

2.-Demeter, v.301.

3.-Aphrodite, v.380-381.

4.-Delian Apollo, v.126.

5.-Story of Oedipus, 3, v.4.

6.-Demeter, v.135.

7.-Demeter, v.219-221.

Aphrodite expresses joyful anticipation of becoming the wife of Anchises and of bearing his "goodly children",¹ and the ceremony attending the birth of Apollo was an occasion of great gladness.² On the other hand, to be unable to bear children was considered a misfortune and calamity. Thus when Demeter was bewailing her daughter's fate by the Maiden Well, she is compared to an "ancient woman who is cut off from child-bearing and the gifts of garland-loving Aphrodite".³ That the Greeks of this period were sincere in their longing for families is supported by several references in which children appear as a joy and blessing. The passage concerning Apollo, "and queenly Leto rejoices because she bare a mighty son and an archer",⁴ and also, "they call the boy Pan because he delighted all their hearts",⁵ besides those already alluded to in respect to the desirability⁵ of children, are indicative of this fact. No less potent in support of this argument is the promise of Aphrodite to Anchises "and you

1.-Aphrodite, v.129.

2.-Demeter, v.101-102.

3.-Delian Apollo, v.11-13.

4.-Pan, v.46-47.

5.-Aphrodite, v.280-281.

Delian Apollo, v.128.

Demeter, v.165, v.219-221.

shall have a dear son who shall reign among the Trojans, and children's children after him, springing up continually,"¹ or again, "Through you, O queen, men are blessed in their children".² In both of these passages the idea of blessedness reminds us of the inheritance of the tribes of Israel, "for the father of a multitude of nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceedingly fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee."³ However it is the neat Homeric Epigrams which most admirably and with greatest nicety expresse this conception, "children are a man's crown, towers of a city; horses are the glory of the plain and so are ships of the sea".⁴ A pathetic touch is added in one of the epigrams: "To what a fate did Zeus the Father give me a prey even while he made me to grow, a babe at my mother's knees!"⁵ and again, "My dear limbs yearn not to stay in the sacred streets of Cyme, but rather my great heart urges me to go unto another country, small though I am."⁶

1.-Aphrodite, v.195-198.

2.-To Earth, v.5-6.

3.-Genesis XVII, 8.

Epigrams of

4.-Homer XIII.

5.-Homer IV, v.1-3.

6.-Homer IV, v.15-18.

Evidently children appeared in public in company with their parents, for the writer of the Hymn to Apollo says, "yet in Delos do you most delight your heart; for there the long-robed Ionians gather in your honor with their children and shy wives".¹ Nor was less attention paid them within the precincts of their own homes. The picture of Metaneira who "sat by a pillar of the close-fitted roof, holding her son, a tender scion, in her bosom"² and who later, because of her anxiety for the child and her instinctive maternal suspicion of the strange nurse who seemed to work miracles in caring for the boy, "kept watch by night from her sweet-smelling chamber and spied. But she wailed and smote her two hips, because she feared for her son and was greatly distraught in her heart,"³ presents evidence, indeed, of the anxious mother heart which knows no fetters of race or time. Then after the child is discarded by the enraged goddess, the solicitous yet inexperienced sisters crowd around, trying in their clumsy way to minister to the boy to the extent which

1.-Delian Apollo, v.147-149.

2.-Demeter, v.184-187.

3.-Demeter, v.243-247.

only the "one child in the world" to its particular family group can demand. Undoubtedly children were desired and welcomed for dynastic reasons, and sterility was regarded as ominous of divine displeasure. And yet from examination of the above references, it seems reasonable to conclude that in addition to being perpetrators of the race, children were regarded as necessary to the pleasures of family life and that as such their well-being was a joy and pride and their demands a matter of loving attention.

We come now to those references which demand, individually and as a group, more thoughtful contemplation. The group referred to is that which deals with the nurse and her place in the child's life. It is perfectly evident that in the society of the Homeric Age, the nurse played an important role in household affairs. But it must be borne in mind throughout this discussion, that Homeric writers always dealt with the upper classes where household servants were a conspicuous feature. The famous episode of Demeter as a nurse of Demophoön is foreshadowed by the lines

which describe her grief and desolation over the loss of Rhea, "And she was like the nurses of king's children who deal justice".¹ In other words, her life was as empty as that of the nurses of king's children who possess responsibility without authority and so are left in chagrin by their insubordinate charges when discipline is necessary. Throughout the Demeter story there are references to the nurse's care of the child: how he was fed²; bathed³; trunaled⁴; and caressed⁵: Aphrodite recalls her childhood with the words, "But I know your speech well beside my own, for a Trojan nurse brought me up at home; she took me from me dear mother and reared me thenceforth when I was a little child."⁶ The fact that the child was taken from its mother might be an indication of antipathy or dislike on the part of the parent, hence a convenient disposal of her responsibility in the matter. However, there is nothing to indicate that the child suffered any hardship by reason of the change or that the mother bore her any ill-will. Moreover the fact that foreign nurses

1.-Demeter, v.103-104.

2.-Demeter, v.139; v.164.

3.-Demeter, v.289.

4.-Demeter, v.140.

5.-Demeter, v. 87.

6.-Aphrodite, v.113-118.

were not uncommon,¹ points to the assumption that no unfavorable implication is involved in the statement. One of the Epigrams speaks of "Goddess-nurse of the young"² thereby signifying the importance attached to the office. However the question may be raised, "Does not the importance of the nurse reflect with discredit upon the attitude of the mother toward her child?" It is possible that there were in those days, as there are now, women, who, having borne children, considered their mission in life complete and, unwilling to assume further responsibility, paid a nurse to relieve them of it. On the other hand, the woman of the Homeric Age was the household administrator: she directed the preparation of food such as pounding and grinding grain, also the carding and spinning of wool; weaving and embroidery were tasks worthy of her. And to these endless labors, the endless amount of time and effort involved in caring for her children and we do not wonder that she resorted to employing help from the plentiful sources which seem to have

1.-Fosaria, Sister Mary; The Nurse in Greek Life, p. 13-15.
 2.-Epigrams of Homer, XII.

existed. Therefore the importance of the nurse may be regarded as evidence not that the mother shirked her obligations or disliked her task, but that she engaged a nurse for her child because there were plenty of means, plenty of nurses, and for the mistress of the household plenty of duties of which rearing children, although the most important, was only one of the most immediate.

There are three references, however, which may have a sinister significance for the attitude of the Homeric Greeks toward children. In a fragment of the *Cypria*, Stasinus says, "He is a fool who kills the father and lets the children live."¹ At first sight, this statement impresses the reader with its brutality but though it is unjustifiable at any event, there is evidently sound logic in it. We have only to recall the methods which our own countrymen in the Blue Ridge Mountains have adopted for generations, in order to realize how ignorant of feuds we would be to-day if the "poor whites" in the first instance had followed the advice of Stasinus. Again the details of the killing

1.--The *Cypria*, 22.

of the babe Astyanax¹ are vivid and complete. This was undoubtedly a heinous crime worthy of the indignation of the author who, it seems, tried to arouse the sympathy of his audience toward the child and their anger against the culprit. Just as the sensational headlines of the daily news are intended to sway public opinion, so, I think, by graphically recounting the awful details, the author must have produced a similar effect among those gentlefolk of the period in which he wrote. Lastly the infanticide by Hera, who because her son was born "weakly among all the blessed gods and shrivelled of foot"² cast him out of heaven and threw him into the sea, is the first instance of cruelty to the child on the part of the parent so far as our investigation has gone. In the present day, the leaving of an infant on a doorstep is comparatively a rare event and an occasion for indignant publicity. Several years ago public opinion ran high against a doctor who allowed a child to die because it was hopelessly deformed, mentally and physi-

1.-The Little Iliad, 14, v.1-6.

2.-Pythian Apollo, v.317-318.

cally. Exposure of infants and doing away with children, it is generally believed, was much more frequent then than now. Granted that for economic reasons and in order to get rid of illegitimate children, the practise of exposure became accepted, would this instance have appeared to the Greeks as inexcusably brutal? Or grant that infanticide and exposure were not commonly practised, how may such a crime by a goddess be explained? It must be remembered that the Greeks worshipped beauty and also that they were unusually prolific. They were not desirous of any but strong, beautiful children and regarded a cripple in the light of a disgrace. With these points in mind, it is not hard to understand why, from the Greek point of view, a goddess whose misfortune it was to bear a son with a shrivelled foot might easily become so demented with rage as to take the easiest and quickest way out of such an embarrassing and humiliating situation. It seems from the Greek point of view that Hera's crime, though unusual and unfortunate, was not inexcusable.

In sharp contrast to the hideous picture of Hera's wrath, are the references to the spirit of childhood,

most of which are found in the Hymn to Hermes. The description of the feigned innocence of the god as he lies in swaddling clothes in his cradle while Apollo, in a rage, hunts for his stolen cattle,¹ reflects the gay, rollicksome, mischievous side of childhood which Hermes typifies. In a later poem he is described as "a noisy, merry-laughing child"² and again in Apollo's words, "for my part I have never seen one so pert either among the gods or all men that catch folk unwarred throughout the world."³ All the dependence of the child upon its mother, especially in an emergency, becomes manifest when the god himself says, "This is no task for me: rather I care for other things; I care for sleep, and milk of my mother's breast, and warm baths."⁴ The seat of authority, as in our homes to-day, is also made apparent when Hermes rails at his mother's reproaches.⁵ But the supreme judge of the household was the father, for the incident of the stolen cattle, similar to one of our well-known American anecdotes makes this fact clear when Hermes confesses,

1.-Hermes, v. 235-242.

2.-Pan, v. 38.

3.-Hermes, v. 337-338.

4.Hermes, v. 266-268.

5.-Hermes, v. 162-165.

"Zeus, my father, indeed I will speak the truth to you; for I am truthful and I cannot tell a lie"¹. Children, however spirited, were taught to respect their elders,² but they lacked neither incentive or ability to play jokes on them, for instance the famous fish joke³ which the boys played on Homer. In the Hymn to Earth, "their sons exult with ever-fresh delight, and their daughters in flower-laden bands play and skip merrily over the soft flowers of the field."⁴. And so the evidence is strongly in favor of the characterization of the spirit of childhood then as it is now: gay, mischievous, full of animation, noisy, humorous, frowning on authority, but also awed by and dependent upon it.

In conclusion it seems justifiable to say that the attitude of the Greeks toward children as presented by writers of the Homeric Hymns and the Homeric was very similar to that presented by Homer himself: that the relationships between parents and children were close and mutually pleasant; that children were loved and cared for because of intrinsic reasons; that in order

1.-Hermes, v.369-372.

2.-Hermes, v.455-457.

3.-Contest of Homer and Hesiod, v.327-341.

4.-To Earth, v.12-15.

to accord children the advantages of constant care and guidance they were put in charge of trustworthy nurses instead of overworked mothers; that rare cases of brutality to children were cause for public wrath and disapproval; but that the spirit of childhood was a normal, healthy, wholesome one; such as children who live well-ordered, carefully planned lives enjoy to-day.

CHAPTER IV

HESIOD

The works ascribed to Hesiod have some notable references to the attitude of the Greeks regarding the desirability of children and of favorable auspices for them. Dynastic ambition may have been the prime motive in the obvious eagerness for children, but certainly personal enjoyment in the children themselves strengthened and increased this desire. Thus Ponnemus speaks of the marriage of his daughter Atlanta to Hippomenes: "May the father of men and of gods (grant that splendid children be born to him)."¹ This same attitude is implied in the description of distress and desolation which results from evil. "Often even a whole city suffers from a bad man who sins and devises presumptuous deeds, and the son of Cronos lays great trouble upon the people, famine and plague together, so that men perish away, and their women do not bear children, and their houses become few, through the contriving of Olympian Zeus."² From this it appears that to be deprived of children was, to the Greek mind, one of the greatest catastrophes which could befall a man. Again the poet says,

 1.-Hesiod, Catalogue of Women and Line 14, v. 24-25,
 from a translation by H.C. Evelyn White.
 2.-Works and Days, v. 239-245.

"Peace, the nurse of children, is abroad in their land."¹ In other words, perhaps the idea is that not the least among the other blessings which peace brings is the blessing of children. It is clear that the Greeks were very particular about conditions attending childbirth and the early years. "Do not neglect children when you are come back from ill-omened burial, but after a festival of the gods."² In this reference we see traces of that idea which is wide-spread even to-day; namely, that before a child is born, the prospective mother should be steeped in an environment conducive to mental and spiritual, as well as physical strength and well-being. The advice in this passage is supplemented later by a detailed list of days³ in the month which will be favorable or unfavorable for the birth of boys and girls, as the case may be, and which will influence the character of the children born on these days. In another instance fear of divine displeasure and its consequences upon the offenders is indicated in the rule which forbade children to sit on "things which may not be moved" such as tombs or all things it would be sacrilege to disturb, "for that is bad, and makes a man unmanly".⁴ Therefore, we may conclude that the Greeks about 400 B.C.

1.-Works and Days, v. 726.

2.-Works and Days, v. 734-738.

3.-Works and Days, v. 783-789, 790-794.

4.-Works and Days, v. 750-753.

Hesiod wrote wished not only to protect themselves as a people but also to avoid as far as they were able, any handicap which stern natural phenomena and power might lay upon their children.

In Hesiod's works, as in those of Homer and the cyclic poets, there are passages which show that children were objects of pride and vigilance. Here also the nurse figures prominently in the child's life. Thus we find, "But Chiron was tending the son of Pelias, swift-footed Achilles, pre-eminent among men, on rocky Pelion; for he was still a boy,"¹ and again, "I did you put your woman out of doors and look out a servant-girl with no children;—for a servant with a child to nurse is troublesome."² In the latter case it is not clear whether the servant-girl was desired as a nurse-maid, but in any event it was not desirable to have a servant part of whose time necessarily belonged to her own child. Sometimes a child was brought up under the immediate attention of his mother: "A child was brought up at his good mother's side an hundred years, no better simulated, playing childishly in his own home."³ Here it is implied that the immature mentality of a child, natural enough in early years, becomes unnatural to the point of foolishness after a

1.—Catalogues of Women in Poise, 38:1, v.101-102.
 2.—Works and Days, v.801-804.
 3.—Works and Days, v. 130-133.

century and it is a child of this line which has just taken on a personification of the silver age. The value of the reference for this discussion is that it merely calls attention to the fact that women sometimes took the responsibility of caring their children, untended. Among the fragments of the Precepts of Chiron which, despite Aristophanes' opinion, appear with Hesiod's poems, there is the observation, "Some consider that children under the age of seven should not receive a literary education,"¹ which is Hesiod's time spent on something more probably than "learn to read". However the age of the child differs but one year from school age prescribed for the beginners of our day. Care and anxiety for the child is evident from other viewpoints also. "But at that time he knew not as yet the intent of his father's mind, and now men delight in protecting their children from doom."² This passage is support, indeed, for the prevalent notion that parents always make their children the primary consideration in time of distress. Likewise, in the passage "With him ---- who infatigably offends against fatherless children, truly Zeus is angry and at last lays on him a heavy requital",³ there is protest against the abuse of weakness and innocence which finds expression in the annals of the Hecress⁴ on down

1.-Precepts of Chiron, 4.

2.-Catalogue of Women and Eclogues 68:11, v. 23-25.

3.-Works and Days, v. 327-328.

4.-Exodus 21:17 "Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child----my wrath shall wax hot in I will kill you with the sword".

through the history to the events of the last seven years. The care of children which reflects particularly, perhaps, is evinced in the advice to "fallow land when the soil is still getting light: fallow land is a betterer for them and a betterer of children."¹ Here there is an allusion to the Greek custom of crop rotation to produce a larger yield, but it is interesting to note that hungry, crying children were the stimulus for this procedure. Joy and pride in children are evident from such instances as "And to Cephalus she bore a splendid son, strong Phaethon, a man like the gods, whom when he was a young boy in the tender flower of glorious youth with childish thoughts---"², or again, "He had a son of remarkable beauty, Hyacinthus. And when Apollo saw the boy, he was seized with love for him, and would not leave the house of Pagnos."³ The poet says of Hecate, "because she is an only child, the goddess receives not less honor, but much more still, for Zeus honors her".⁴ This is only another link in the chain of evidence showing the identity in many respects of the Greek attitude with ours today, here with regard to the proverbial only child. But just as a normally good and healthy child was a source of pleasure, so the black sheep of the family caused sorrow and grief, for

1.-Works and Days, v.483-485.
 2.-Theogony, v.988-991.
 3.-The Great Poets, 18, v.5-7.
 4.-Theogony, v.488-489.

we find, "Whoever happens to have ten or fifteen children, lives always with increasing grief in his spirit and heart within him; and this ^{evil} _^ cannot be avoided."¹ This we have seen that arose from the same mechanical care of administering to their physical needs, which children received, that was solicitude for their welfare and progress, their appearance, their moral and spiritual development which must have had its rise not in a selfish but altruistic source.

There are two passages which are worthy of mention because of the light they cast upon the attitude which parents desired from the children in regard to themselves. In the *Fragments of Unknown Position*, the Scholiast indicates that he says: "But ye should be gentle towards your father."² This is a generalization in the affirmative of some of the details involved in the description of the iron law and its probable results. "The father will not agree with one child though he has children with their father... Men will dishonor their parents as they grow quickly old, and will carry out the, chiding them with bitter words, hard-hearted they, not knowing the fear of the Lord. They will not repay their aged parents for the cost of their nurture, for right shall be their right."³ This seems to indicate by the

1.-Theology v. 800-811

2.-Fragments of Unknown Position 11.

3.-Works and Days, v. 188-189.

indignant censure implies, that the Greek ideal of filial relationship is one of duty, respect, gratitude, and affection.

However, there are several references which may be questioned as to the impression they leave. In the *Theogony*, the mythology regarding Hecate,¹ Cronos,² and Zeus,³ and the methods by which these divinities rid themselves of their children are disgusting and brutal. Aversion to the helpless and ugly is undoubtedly a primitive idea and the treatment accorded the children of these gods is traditional among savages, for to them human sacrifice was an accepted convention.⁴ There is a theory that of this series of myths the *Theogony* is an attempt to explain the consolidation of absolute disorder with absolute power.⁵ The treatment of the children would then be explained in consequence. In addition it seems to me, it must be borne in mind that in each case mentioned, the children appear as such only in their family relationships and that they are really supernatural offspring, playing their roles in a bit of mythology, but not fulfilling the parts of children in point of development. The story of Leto who "used to throw the children she had by Pelops into a cauldron of water because

1.-*Theogony*, v. 146-150.

2.-*Theogony*, v. 413-452.

3.-*Theogony*, v. 883-900.

4.-Murray, Gilbert: *The Epic of the Greek Epic*, p. 38 ff.

5.-Mure, William: *A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, II, 407 ff.

she wished to learn whether they were mortal---and after many had perished, Peleus and his wife prevented her from throwing Achilles into the children"¹. presents inconceivable cruelty as the price of a maternal whim. According to another tradition², the goddess was forced into the union with Peleus, a statement, which if true, may account for her recklessness in satisfying an extreme curiosity. Under such circumstances it is conceivable that the children would be curious to her because inferior to her position in the universal order. The supernatural element, therefore, seems to me, the basis of the censure which the case demands at first sight.

In conclusion, then, it seems that Hesiod deals with his subject matter in a more realistic way than Homer. The very content demands a matter-of-fact treatment since it contains themes pertaining to the more practical and humble side of life. However the passages which concern us in this investigation are notable because, despite the handicap of being humbler themes, they convey an impression which approaches closely that gained from our previous discussion: namely, that the Greeks though naturally prolific, derived real pleasure from the so-

1.-Aegineus, 2, v. 1-6.

2.-Roscher: Lexikon der Griechischen - Römischen Mythologie, col. 23, 30.

ciety of family life; that their concern for the child began before its birth and continued throughout its life, including not only attention to physical needs but comprising also anxiety for the spiritual and mental development; that relations between parents and children were at once those of companionship and consideration; that traces of brutality, predilect to all races, and by no means extinct among ourselves, and cases involving the supernatural element because their figments of imagination in representing incidents very primitive and naïve retards of thinking, are not to be pressed too much as evidence for thought and feeling in a much later age.

CHAPTER V

PINDAR AND BACCHYLIDES

Because the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides were written in commemoration of the heroes of the national Greek festival, there occur a number of passages in the poems which refer to the parts played by boys on these occasions. It is evident that young boys were admitted to the contests, for there are such references as, "While at Argos he gained glory in a contest of men, and as a boy at Athens,"¹ and again, "and, if I myself have, for Lilies, rushed up in song to the height of glory, even by training ^{of} fearless youths, let not envy cast a rough stone at me; for I could tell of his winning such another victory himself at Nemea-----"². In the case of Aristagoras, "But the halting steps of his parents restrained his strength, as a boy, from competing for prizes at Pytho and Olympia,"³ even as parental authority to-day sometimes presents an obstacle to the younger generation with its independent point of view. Bacchylides too, in praise of Lachon of Ceos says, "No one among the Greeks has boy or bearded man has gained more victories in an equal time."⁴ The discomfiture of defeat seems to have appealed to the

1.-Olympian Odes, IX, v.67-89. All quotations from Pindar are from the first translation by Sir John W. Gifford, London, 1913.

2.-Olympian Odes, VIII, v.54-58.

3.-Nemean Odes, XI, v.29-31.

4.-Frin., v.42-43. All quotations from Bacchylides are from the first translation by F.C. Jeff, Cambridge, 1903. Unless otherwise indicated all passages are quoted from Pindar.

poet as a means of enhancing the hero's glory far in two¹ very similar passages he presents the picture of four boys stealing away home while the crowd jeered-- "nor indeed, as they returned to their fathers did loud-ant laughter awaken delight but they slunk along the by-ways, aloof from their fires, sorely wounded by their mischance."² The insight into this phase of boyhood leads us to feel that the Greeks recognized the importance of physical education and supervised sport. The institution of the national games was established as a means of intensifying national consciousness³ and it seems that the Greeks must have deemed it wise to begin instilling this into the youth of the nation at an early age.

Pindar leaves one fragment which indicates that civil disturbances like all other forms of war cause children great suffering. He says "let him that giveth tranquillity to the community of citizens, look for the bright light of manly Peace, then from out his heart he hath plucked hateful faction, faction that bringeth poverty, and is an ill nurse of youth."⁴ The use of the familiar figure of the nurse is well employed to call to mind the careful rearing children received except when war prevented it.

1.-Olympian Odes, VIII, v. 65-71.

Pythian Odes, VIII, v. 82-87.

2.-Pythian Odes, VIII, v. 85-87.

3.-Introduction, xvii.

4.-Eulogies. Concord in the State.

There are several references to children which are noteworthy because they contain the general impression of child life which we have formed from previous investigation. In prophesying the birth of Zeus, the poet says, "and they shall place the babe upon their laps, and drop nectar and ambrosia upon his lips, and shall crown that, as a delight to his friends and guests, he shall be called immortal Zeus."¹ The plot of the final parent-deities is but a reflection of the mortals who conceived their images. Likewise we find, "and ever from his father's lap, he hath soared among the Muses,"² a passage which gives another indication of the personal attention the mothers bestowed upon their children. In regard to the poet himself, we find "It was the quadrennial festival (or the Pythian games) with its procession of oxen, when, as a dear infant, I was first cradled in swaddling clothes."³ A typical characterization of young children is given in Silenus' words to Olympus, the Thracian hero: "Poor child of a day! you are childishly prating, in boasting to me of money!"⁴ Bacchylides portrays the same characteristic in the passage: "For while yet in girlhood, they had entered the holy place of the purple-girdled goddess, and boasted that their sire far surpassed in wealth the golden-haired consort of Zeus, great lord of wide dominion."⁵

1.—Pythian Odes, IX, v. 80-82.

2.—Pythian Odes, V, v. 114-115.

3.—Fragments of Uncertain Class. 153. The Birth of Pindar.

4.—Fragments of Uncertain Class. 157.

5.—Epinic. X. v. 45-48.

The buoyancy and exaltation of youth is suggested by this same poet in the lines, "But deceitful Hope has crept into the hearts of men, children of a day."¹ It is evident that the daughters of the household were trained in household arts and kept under the supervision and vigilance of their mothers. Thus we find, "First on the road shall thou be followed by thy happy daughter, while she advanceth with her feet beside the leafy branch of May, she whom her mother, Andagistrotia, hath trained in all manner of skill, gladly linking her with fair handiwork of many a kind."² These passages seem to be a fair indication that from Pindar's point of view as well as from that of his predecessors, children lived in intimate and affectionate relations with their elders.

The references to the attitude of parents toward children bear out the statement just made. Unchecked dynastic ambition figured prominently in the motives back of such remarks as, "and brought her to Locrus, that so Time might not destroy him, laying upon him the doom of childlessness,"³ or again, "But even as a son born of a wife is welcome to a father who hath already reached the reverse of youth, and maketh his heart to glow with happiness, since, for one who is dying, it a hateful sight to see his wealth falling to the lot of a master who is a

1.-Epinic. III, v.75-78.

2.-Naiades' Songs: On Asclepias II, v.71-78.

3.-Olympian Odes, IX, v. 58-60.

stranger from another home."¹ However in some passages the motive appears to be not entirely selfish. For instance, "and the hero rejoiced at seeing the son that had been given him, and called him by the self-same name as his mother's sire,"² or "There it was that she gave birth to, and beheld, her blessed offspring."³ In these last two cases, the pleasure seems genuine, sincere, and without trace of ulterior motive. In a fragment recently discovered it is clearly indicated that children were regarded as a source of benefit and security against old age, for the poet says, "Yet he, whose house is not reft of children nor utterly overthrown beneath the stroke of stern necessity, liveth free from toilsome labor."⁴ The Greeks, like the Hebrews, appreciated the fact that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children even to the third and fourth generations, for we find, "May I tread the straightest path of life, that, when I die, I may leave my children a name that hath no ill-repute."⁵ A very notable instance of human nature occurs in the story of Euadne who, after her marriage to Poseidon, was about to bear a child to Apollo. In order to conceal her shame, she took her child to Arcadia where "though sore distressed, she was fain to leave him there upon the ground."⁶ Two

1.-Olympian Odes, X, v. 25-26.

2.-Olympian Odes, IX, v. 31-32.

3.-ProceSSIONAL Songs: On Apollo, v. 11-12.

4.-Maidens' Songs: On Aeolus I, v. 8-11.

5.-Nemean Odes, VIII, v. 36-38.

6.-Olympian Odes, VI, vl 44-45.

serpents, so the tradition goes, took care of the boy until he was found by Aegyptus, the ruler of the country, "for it had been hidden amid the rushes and in the soundless brake, with its dainty form steeped in the golden and deep-purple light of pansies; therefore it was that his mother declared that he should be called for all time by the unlying name of Iamus."¹ This story is valuable in this discussion because it shows the immortal tendency of story-tellers to develop the life of the hero from an obscure beginning so that the plot hinges upon his identity. The importance attaches itself, then, not so much to the actions involved in the obscurity, but in the device itself. *Eugene* reminds us of *Hetty Sorrel*², and all the other women to whom a good name is more precious than the lives of their children, notwithstanding the concession made in this case, that she was "sore distressed" to commit the crime. However unforgivable *Eugene's* action may seem, it must be borne in mind that the Greek dramatic instinct responded very quickly to a theme wherein the beasts were made to champion a cause for which human kindness was no match. The *Romulus and Remus* myth is an illustration of the same theme. Furthermore the treatment of *Loose*, though prompted by a different motive, was identical with that of *Iamus*, a fact which seems to indicate

1.- Olymian Odes; VI. v.54-56.

2.- Eliott, George: *Adam Bede*, p.

that some elements of the myth were common in other literatures and so the invention of the Greek writers should not be condemned alone. In any event, it seems as if the story is told with an effort to create dramatic atmosphere for the later prestige of the boy's descendants, and the conditions surrounding his birth should be judged, I think, from that point of view. The story of Coronis, who, having been betrayed by Apollo, was slain by him, but whose unborn infant as she was burning in the funeral pyre was rescued by the god himself because, as he said, " 'No longer can I endure in my heart to slay my own child by a death most piteous, at the self-same time as its mother's grievous doom,' " ¹ is noteworthy for the feeling shown towards the unborn child by the father, though the same interest on the part of the mother would be natural enough. Certainly the passage is indicative of fairly humane feeling toward children in general.

The references to children made by each of these poets are comparatively fewer than in other author's works which we have discussed, but the passages indicate much the same disposition as has been found in previous chapters. The content of the poems being almost entirely in praise of athletic prowess, affords few occasions for speaking of child life. In addition to the impressions of the

1.--Pythian Odes, lll, v. 40-42.

attitude of the poets which have been gained from previous investigation, Pindar gives us a little insight into the participation of Greek boys in national games and in the Iphigene and Coronis stories he implies that, however guilty of cruelty some perverted mind might become, there was usually some defense or protection for helpless babies whose lives had been endangered.

CHAPTER VI

AESCHYLUS

On the part of several writers¹ who have made a study of the tragedies of Aeschylus, there seems to be an opinion that in the majority of cases his characters are more than mere participants in unravelling the plot, in that they function as agents for the development of some moral or religious principle, or some ideal type or quality which no human could ever more than hope to possess. For this reason it appears that the "heroic" and "stern" qualities are emphasized, but "the softer and more tender passions are touched but slightly". Everything that pertains to children is usually linked in the mind with "the softer and more tender passions". Whether the attitude of Aeschylus was an exception in this matter is my concern at present.

The satisfaction derived by the Greeks from the security of immediate posterity has been notable in all the

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- 1.--Haigh, A.W. : *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, Oxford, 1880. p. 76 ff.
 Jevons, W.P. : *A History of Greek Literature from the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes*, New York, 1881. p. 200 ff.
 Murray, Gilbert : *A History of Ancient Greek Literature*, London, 1811. p. 26 ff.
 Wheeler, J.P. : *Greek Literature, A Series of Lectures Delivered at Columbia University, New York, 1913*. 102 ff.
 Jebb, P.C. : *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, New York, 1893. p. 100 ff.
 2.--Haigh, A.W. : *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 76.

authors thus far examined and it is no less obvious in Aeschylus. "Offering of Teuth's eldest with many a child," is a direct manner of stating the idea which appears more picturesquely in the words of Clytemnestra when she sees Agamemnon returning:

"I hail my lord as watch-dog of the fold,
The stay that saves the ship, of lofty roof
Main column-prop, a father's only child!"²

or, in other words, the only hope. Conversely, lack of a family was regarded as a very unpropitious sign and was to be avoided by every possible means. Thus Orestes declares:

"-----May the hand of God
Far rather smite me than I childless die!"³

The fact that the oracle of Apollo promised Laïos that he should save the state by virtue of his childlessness,⁴ is an indication of the importance of this price to be paid, since Laïos was willing to forego his opportunity. In the same play, the chorus reiterated the foregoing dread of ending a family line:

"-----that ill-starred pair
The war-chiefs, childless and most miserable
Who, true to that ill name
Of Polyneikes, died in iniquitous blood,
Contenting overmuch."⁵

It is evident, therefore, that Aeschylus appreciated the value and necessity of a family as these were regarded in that day.

1.-Prometheus Bound: v.140. All quotations from Aeschylus are made from--The Tragedies of Aeschylus, A New Translation by E.V. Rieu, New York, (1899).

2.-Agamemnon, v.838-841.

3.-The Libation Bearers, v. 993-994.

4.-The Seven Against Thebes, v.739-743.

5.-The Seven Against Thebes, v. 624-628.

Another obvious characteristic of the attitude of the Greeks toward their children which is apparent in Aeschylus as in the other poets I have discussed, is the tender care bestowed upon young children. Such references as "She nursed it like a child in swaddling clothes",¹ or "For me, a babe in swaddling clothes";² or again "Be of good cheer, ye maidens, mother reared,"³ imply solicitude and attention on the part of the mother or nurse. A very happy, yet familiar picture is vividly portrayed by Kassandra the nurse of Orestes, when she says:

"But as for dear Orestes, my sweet charge
Whom from his mother I received and nursed
And then the shrill cries rousing me o' nights,
And many and unreckitable toils
For as the babe then. For one must needs rear
The heedless infant like an animal,
(How else can it be?) as his nurse serves,
For while a child is yet in swaddling clothes,
It speaketh not if either hunger comes
Or passing thirst,-----"⁴

It is clear, therefore, that these passages bear out previous observations upon this phase of child life.

Aeschylus makes several casual references, (often by using a metaphor or simile), to characteristics of children. In regard to one very common childish habit, the chorus mentions the wail of the new-born infant,⁵ and Agamemnon says, "But thou, provoking with thy childish cries,

1.-Liberation Tragedy, v. 535.

2.-Liberation Tragedy, v. 1434.

3.-The Seven Against Thebes, v. 769.

4.-The Liberation Tragedy, v. 745-746.

5.-The Liberation Tragedy, v. 597-610.

"Halt now ye lion,"¹

The delight of children in playing with dumb animals is suggested by such passages as,

"Since, boy-like, he pursues
A bird upon its flight, and so both wing
Upon his city shame intolerable."²

and again in

"So once a lion's cub,

Tame, by the children loved,
And fondled by the old,
Left in his arms 'twas held,
Like infant newly born."³

Close observation by the poet is indicated in the lines,

"Zeus yet may meet this, and his present wrath
Seem to thee but as child's play of mistress."⁴

Where the cunning of childhood employed to gain its own ends is referred to. Immaturity, and lack of development, both mental and physical, are characteristics of childhood about which the Greeks speak very often. A favorite comparison seems to have been the frailty of old age and the helplessness of childhood. The Pythian priestess complains

"-----nor can I nimbly move,
But run with help of hands, not speed of foot;
A woman old and terrified is sought,
A very child."⁵

and again the chorus of men too old for war laments:

"We with old frame little honored,
Left behind that best are staying

- 1.-Agamemnon, v.1098 - 1099.
2.-Agamemnon, v.364-366.
3.-Agamemnon, v.325 - 326.
4.-Prometheus Bound, v.251 - 252.
5.-Tereus, v.35 - 39.

Testing strength that equals children's
 In our staff; for in the corner
 Of the box, like a young sea-fishing,
 Is of old age not the sign.¹

So far throughout this investigation emphasis has been laid upon the physical care bestowed upon children and upon the attention given their skill in crafts or athletic process. In only one instance, and that in a fragment of disputed authenticity, has any reference been made to the mental development of the child. This fact does not imply necessarily that provision was not made for education, as we conceive it, but coupled with their attitude toward the child and as it appears in *Asceoryles*, it seems that physical development and achievement was emphasized in the early years and respect for mental growth was accorded those who had reached maturity. For instance Hermes says,

"Is, I say, then, learned then, Prometheus?"

to which Prometheus replies,

"And art thou not a boy and silly for
 If that thou thinkest to learn ought
 from me?"²

Like wise Clytemnestra:

"My mind that scorn' t, as though there were a girl's."⁴

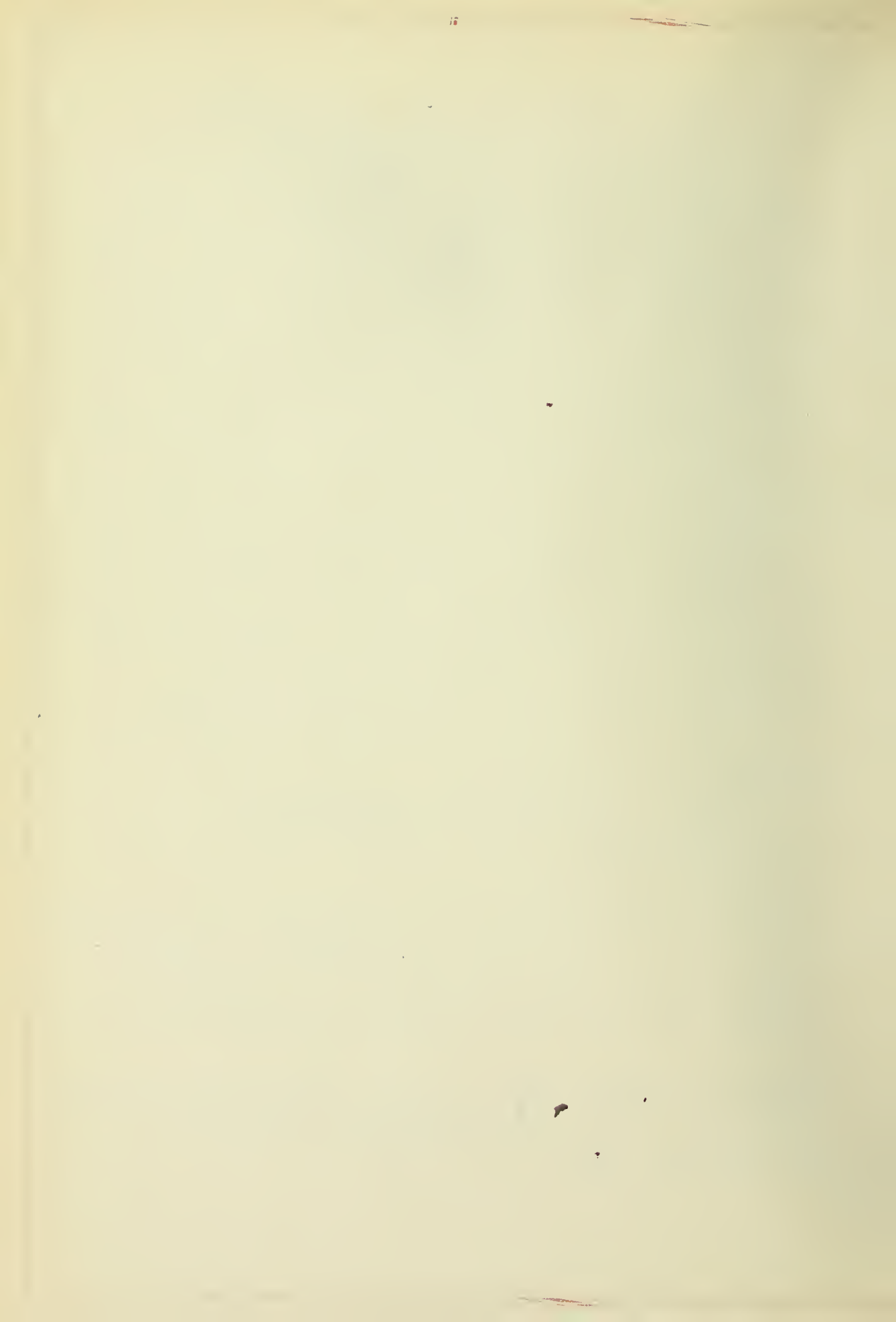
In the *Proemides* there is an implication of the wisdom of maturity contrasted with the lack of this same quality in

1.-Agamemnon, v. 71 - 73.

2.-Precepts of Chiron, 4. See Hesiod, *The Homeric Hymns and Hesiodica*, from a translation by H. W. Evelyn White.

3.-Prometheus Bound, v. 107 - 109.

4.-Agamemnon, v. 88.



youth:

"Go to your homes, ye great and glorious ones,
Children of might, and yet no children ye,"¹

Of course we to-day do not credit a child with the sense which comes of maturity but we scarcely hold the child's mind as senseless or an object of scorn. Apparently Aeschylus was loath to admit that children had the power to reason, or at least that they could perform any but the very simplest mental processes. So I find

"Who is so childish or so void of sense,
As with his heart aglow
At that fresh uttered message of the flame,
Then to stand at changing rumor's sound."²

and also

"-----But those voices of men,
List ye to them, --- how they, before ye babes
By re-word, roused to reason, taught to think."³

A slight concession to his previous attitude is evident in the passage

"What hast thou spoken now
With utterance all too clear?
Even I say its gist right understand,"⁴

but there is clearly a lack of confidence in the child's ability to use his mind.

The horrors of war as they affect children are described in various places by Aeschylus just as by Homer.

The departure of very young soldiers etc.....

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- 1.-Eumenides, v.967 - 968.
 - 2.-Agamemnon, v.467 - 468.
 - 3.-Prometheus Bound, v.45 - 463.
 - 4.-Agamemnon, v.1130 - 1135.

"Before the rite, that call
 Their fair and first-ripe fruit,
 To take a hateful journey from their homes."¹

has always carried with it sinister significance for the future of the nation, in itself the pre-text condemnation of war. The tragedy of "childless wives"~as a result of war is a strain upon which the chorus sings and paraphrases in such gruesome detail as

"And cries of bleeding babes,
 Of children at the breast,
 Are heard in piteous wail,"²

or again,

"For these, low-fallen on carcasses
 Of husbands and of brothers, children too,
 By aged fathers, mourn their dear ones' death,
 And that with throats that are no longer free."⁴

Although the helpless had to submit to such atrocities, the spirit of vengeance is manifest in such an exhortation as

"O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;
 Free too your wives, your children, and the shire
 Guilt to your fathers' Gods, and holy tents
 Your ancestors now rest in."³

It has been observed that the treatment of children in war is precisely the same among the Greeks as among all other nations, and history has shown that the normal attitude cannot be judged upon such evidence. It is worthy of note, however, that in two instances⁵ in the Persians, Aeschylus mentions practically every outrage of war except that con-

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- 1.--The Seven Against Thebes, v.324 - 327.
 - 2.--The Persians, v.581 - 582.
 - 3.--The Seven Against Thebes, v.339 - 341.
 - 4.--Agamemnon, v.317 - 320.
 - 5.--The Persians, v.404 - 407.
 - 6.--The Persians, v.122 ff; v.540 - 550.

cerning children, but too significance, which this fact has had at first was diminished later by the discovery of the passages quoted above.

There remain the passages¹ which refer to the sacrifices with which the action of the *Orestia* is concerned. The details of this series of crimes would be sufficient evidence completely to contradict the impression obtained thus far in respect to the relations between parents and children, if it were not for the fact that scholars and critics of Aeschylus make what seems to me a satisfactory explanation of them. I have mentioned before that the characters in the tragedies act as agents for the development of some moral or religious principle. It follows, therefore, that in the *Orestia* the poet is trying to assert the principle of retribution in respect to sin and so for this reason, the characters play their roles in conformity with the underlying purpose of the work. It is justifiable to conclude, then, that an impression formed from these references would be not only unfair to the Greeks as a part of society, but entirely false.

Aeschylus offers, then, no reason for a departure from the impression gained from this investigation, but rather contributes a strong additional link in this same chain of evidence. The consensus seems to be that this poet sacrifices "the softer and more tender passions" to emphasize the sterner virtues. On this account I was interested in

1.-Agamemnon, v. 148 - 150; v.1034-1036; v.1188-1189; v.1.1-1214; v.1297-1303; v.1488-1491; v.1537-1571; v.1585-1584; The Libation Bearers, v. 1035. All these passages refer to Iphigenia or the children of Thyestes.

making a comparison of the number of references to children in Aeschylus with those in Homer, who, though he dealt with a theme becoming to an epic poet, is conceded nevertheless to have written of gentleness, a term well defined by Tennyson when he said,

"-----gentleness
Which, when it weds with manhood, makes a man."¹

It was found that the references to children in Aeschylus are nearly two and one-half times as numerous as those in the Iliad and the Odyssey.² However in Aeschylus there are no such vivid scenes of tenderness and affection as Hector's farewell to his wife and boy, Patroclus weeping like the little maid who runs along at her mother's side, or Phoenix' patient endurance of the infant Achilles' helplessness, but, on the other hand, his references are expressed in a more casual and commonplace manner although his attitude is essentially the same. It is certain, therefore, that this poet was familiar with children and disposed toward them in much the same kindly way as any other normal adult seems to have been inclined at this time.

1.-Geraint and Enid, v.368

2.--Total number of lines in Aeschylus exclusive of fragments, 8099: total number of references to children in these lines, 23. Total number of lines in Iliad and Odyssey, 87203: total number of references to children in these lines, 47. References in Aeschylus exceed those in Iliad and Odyssey by the multiple 3.41.

CHAPTER VII

SOPHOCLES

The opinions with regard to the work of Sophocles vary according to the interest and viewpoint of the scholars who hold them, but there seems to be one point that the majority accepts, which finds expression in such terms as "the envisagement of life-----underlies the Sophoclean drama,"¹ "the endless wonderfulness of life,-----that is what Sophocles gives us",² " 'who saw life steadily, and saw it whole' "³, "the aim of Sophocles was to humanize tragedy".⁴ It seems to me that nowhere is this interest in and tender sympathy with human life more obvious than in his treatment of children, but usually he presents the facts as they are, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. It will be fitting therefore, to examine the references to children in order to decide what the poet's attitude toward them was.

Like his predecessors, Sophocles seems to have considered the family as a blessing of prime importance, for he emphasizes the misfortune of childlessness in a reference to Beiansira:

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- 1.-J.W. Mackail: Lectures on Greek Poetry, p.184.
 - 2.-J.W. Mackail: Lectures on Greek Poetry, p.185.
 - 3.-R.C. Jebb: Classical Greek Poetry, p.183.
 - 4.-A.E. Waigh: The Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p.141.

"The poor soul wept, as she did look on them,
Still calling out upon her evil fate,
Her future lot of utter childlessness:"¹

and also to Electra:

"And go, ah! piteous fate!
Childless, unwedded still;"²

Again, when Oedipus recounts the tragedy of their house to his children he says, "My children! but ye needs must waste away, unwedded, childless,"³ for the suffering of his children was part of his own punishment. Another element in the life of a normal family is manifested in the words of Clytemnestra when she says,

"Wonderous and strange the force of motherhood!
Though wronged, a mother cannot hate her children."⁴

and the same idea is also expressed aptly in a fragment, "Sons are the anchors of a mother's life".⁵ Maternal love expressed itself also in personal care for little children or provision for their needs by the employment of nurses; such care and provision was not made by mothers alone but might be shared in a large part, at least, by the father, or an elder sister. Teianaira,⁶ when enumerating the responsibilities involved in marriage, speaks of the mother whose rest is broken by the crying infant while Antigone⁷ mentions the young mother and her baby in a sim-

1.-The Maidens of Trachis, v.909-911. All quotations are made from "The Tragedies of Sophocles" by E.V. Rieu, New York.

2.-Electra, v. 166-167.

3.-Oedipus, the King, v. 1501 - 1502.

4.-Electra, v. 770 - 771.

5.-Fragment 312.

6.-The Maidens of Trachis, v. 148 - 151.

7.-Antigone, v. 917 - 918.

ilar connection. One very striking passage shows that mothers felt responsibility and the necessity of looking out for their children's welfare, namely, when Antigone says,

"I had not done it had I come to be
A mother with her children,—had not cared,
Though 'twere a husband dead that mouldered there,
Against my country's will to bear this toil."¹

though he were "like a child without its nurse".² Casual references to nurture³ and the nurse⁴ are made in the Oedipus plays, but a new figure interested in the care of young children is introduced in the character of Electra whose love and devotion to her brother elicits profound admiration. One illustrative passage will suffice:

"-----Ah, miserable me!
For all the nurture, now so profitless,
Which I was wont with sweetest toil to give
For thee, my brother. Never did she love,
Thy mother, as I loved thee; nor did they
Who dwelt within there nurse thee, but 'twas I,
And I was ever called thy sister true."⁵

It is not surprising that a woman who was capable of such crimes as Clytaemnestra could find no inclination to care for the child whose father she had murdered, but the same circumstances may have served to strengthen the bond between the child and his elder sister. From the plea of Oedipus⁶ that Creon look after his girls, though the boys would be able to care for themselves, it is evident that

1.—Antigone, v. 904 - 907.

2.—Philoctetes, v. 701.

3.—Oedipus at Colonus, v. 344 - 345.

4.—Oedipus at Colonus, v. 378 - 380.

5.—Oedipus the King, v. 1089 - 1093.

6.—Electra, v. 1143 - 1149.

7.—Oedipus the King, v. 1459ff.

women were sheltered throughout their lives. However there is another glimpse of family life which is noteworthy because of the relationship of father and children which it reveals:

"But my two poor girls, all desolate,
To whom my table never brought a meal
Without my presence, but whate'er I touched
They still partook of with me; --care for these,"¹

Oedipus, too, expresses the pride and pleasure of fatherhood in the lines,

"My children's face, forsooth, was sweet to see,
Their birth being what it was."²

Thus in pictures that are usually graphic and always realistic the poet indicates the importance of child nurture and training.

Sophocles does not fail to include among other characteristics of which he makes note, the immaturity, both mental and physical, which has been emphasized by the other poets investigated. Creon as ruler of Thebes represents the suggestions of young Haemon and questions, "Lost thou not see thou speakest like a boy?"³ Not only a hasty temper but also a hasty tongue is considered a childish characteristic by this poet, for we find "Hush, boy! for silence brings a thousand gains."⁴ The fact that without any sense or appreciation of values the

1.-Oedipus the King, v. 1463 - 1465.

2.-Oedipus the King, v. 1373 - 1376.

3. Antigone, v. 735.

4.-Fragment 102.

child is always attracted by *tautias*, illustrates failure of his mental processes to function with intelligence.

Thus the lines,

"When sharp cold spreads through all the aether clear,
And children seize a crystal icicle,
At first they firmly hold their new-found joy;
But in the end the melting mass nor cares
To slip away, nor is it good to keep."¹

The gay abandonment of childhood "when ignorance is bliss" is brought out in the lines,

"Young, we lived a life
Of all most joyous, in our father's house,
For want of knowledge is our kindly nurse;"²

and again in "Childish and weak is he
Who learneth to forget
The parents that have perished miserably;"³

where it is clear that the thoughtlessness and selfishness of children is indicated. The proverbial weakness of girls is recognized where Heracles bemoans the situation in which he "like a girl must weep and shriek in pain".⁴ Finally, there is an all-inclusive inference as to children's weaknesses in the simple statement, "The aged man becomes the child again,"⁵ for senility gradually diminishes the powers of mind and body. It ought to be noted perhaps, that these references were not a sinister reflection upon children but were evidence simply of lack of development and maturity.

1.-Fragment 133.

2.-Fragment 512, v. 7 - 8.

3.-Electra, v. 143 - 146.

4.-The Madness of Trachiniae, v. 1021.

5.-Fragment 434.

It is noteworthy that children took part in religious rites that were performed in public. This is indicated in such passages as,

"It is not that we deem of thee as one
Equalled with Gods in power, that we sit here,
These little ones and I, as suppliants prone".¹

One is reminded of the altar boys who attend the priests today. Eurysakes² is also a prominent figure in the ceremony performed over the body of his father, but in this case the fact that the boy was the sole heir probably explains his importance in the scene. Teucer and Eurysakes actually bear the corpse to its final resting-place, as is shown by the lines,

"And thou, O boy, in thy love,
With all the strength that thou hast,
Here, with thy hand on his side,
Thy father's, lift him with me,"³

for to-day it would scarcely be considered fitting for the chief mourners to take part in this way. The circumstances of this scene are, of course, unusual, for Aias had to be buried in utmost haste, but the passage as a whole furnishes admirable evidence of the affectionate family relationships which existed among the Greeks.

There are several references in Tophocles to children suffering either because of war or the death of their par-

1.-Oedipus the King, v. 31 - 33.

2.-Aias, v. 1168 - 1184.

3.-Aias, v. 1409 - 1415.

ents. One of the most often quoted condemnations of war is expressed in,

"And on the earth,
Still breeding plague, unpitied infants lie,
Cast out all ruthlessly;"¹

And again Aias says of his wife,

"-----whom I am loth
To leave a widow with her orphaned child
Among my foes."²

The fact that guardians are often as harsh then as they are to-day, when it is necessary for protection officers to protect children against mistreatment on the part of the guardians, is plain in Teucer's plea with her husband which begins with the lines, sufficiently illustrative in themselves,

"Pity, O king, thy boy, and think if he,
Deprived of child Teucer's nurture, live bereaved
Beneath unfriendly guardians, what sore grief
Thou, in thy death, hast give to him and me!"

It is evident also that kindly relationships existed sometimes between orphans and their guardians, for Teucer whom Aias had appointed to watch over the boy Erysakes, sends for him immediately after the father's death:

"----- why bring ye not
With quickest speed the boy, lest any foe
Seize him, as help of lonely loneliness?
Go, hasten, work together. All are wont
To treat with scorn the dead that prostrate lie.

1.-Odyssey the King, v. 178 - 179.

2.-Aias, v. 888 - 890.

3.-Aias, v. 810 - 812.

therefore, the fact that Polytes brought up Oedipus, and the affectionate feeling for the boy is clear in the lines

"And could he love another's child so much?

"Yes; for his former childlessness brought on him".¹

The explanation of the exposure is offered again in the words of the shepherd² and is referred to by Oedipus in his lament³ over the day he was rescued by the shepherd. These allusions, then, must be considered in the light of the plot which accounts for the motive of the parents' action.

In conclusion, then, it seems to me that in his attitude toward children, Sophocles justifies the common opinion that he "saw life steadily, and saw it whole,"⁴ for he does not neglect to mention the instances and circumstances under which the children fared badly at the hands of their elders, while at the same time he leaves the impression that the general, normal attitude toward children was kindly and intimate, quite like that which the earlier poets depict. The open-minded, unbiased presentation of the facts, therefore, makes the attitude of Sophocles very valuable in this investigation, and gives his work unusual significance for my purposes.

1.-Oedipus the King, v. 1033 ff.

2.-Oedipus the King, v. 1142 - 1173.

3.-Oedipus the King, v. 1248 - 1301.

4.-E.C. Jebb: Classical Greek Poetry, p. 186.

CHAPTER VIII

EURIPIDES

That the passages in Euripides which refer to children are more numerous than in any other poet discussed so far, is explained by Croiset, "The truth is that Euripides interests us less in well-considered decisions than in instinctive sentiment and passion -----These reflections help us to understand the importance given to young persons and to women. A painter by instinct, he was naturally attached rather to impulsive natures than to those in whom, as a rule, moral force is supposed to be predominant."¹ The fact is that this poet is preeminent in antiquity for his sympathetic studies of women and children, and accordingly this must be borne in mind when the evidence is examined. However Croiset goes on to say, "There can be no doubt that this is lifelike painting of contemporary society-----Less and less respect was paid to loyalty, the bonds of friendship, or family affection-----!"² In view of the emphasis laid upon the characters of women and children whom it is natural to consider in the light of home life and family ties, it will be interesting

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- 1.-Croiset, Alfred and Maurice: An Abridged History of Greek Literature. Translated by F.G. Heffelflower. p.221.
 2.-Croiset : p.221.

in the consideration of the data to note to what extent the above statement is justified, at least so far as family affection is concerned.

The dread of prospective mothers is evident in several passages.¹ Such evidence is valuable in this discussion because it makes the prolific tendencies of the Greeks and the normal relationship^{of affection} between mother and child more significant.

There are many noteworthy passages which indicate this mutual affection between mothers and children. "Parturition with attendant throes has a wonderful effect on women and somehow the whole race of women have strong affection toward their children."² This is a general statement which receives confirmation from the words of Iphigenia, "For I, perceiving others begetting children, was born a lover of children, and was undone with my desire (of them),"³ or the lines of the chorus, "A terrible thing it is to be a mother and it bears a great endearment and one common to all so as to toil on behalf of their children."⁴ A pathetic touch is introduced by

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- 1.-Medea, v. 247-248. All quotations from Euripides are made from The Tragedies of Euripides Literally Translated or Revised with Critical and Explanatory Notes by Theodore Alois Buckley. London, 1850.
Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 1462-1463; 202-208.
Ion, v. 1457-1460.
Suppliants, v. 912-915.
 - 2.-Phœnician Virgins, v. 335-358.
 - 3.-Suppliants, v. 1085-1087.
 - 4.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 917-919.

the chorus in lament for the chieftains slain at Thebes, "the sad memorials of my son lie at home, shorn tresses and garlands of hair, songs which golden-haired Apollo receives not."¹ Other evidences of the relations between mothers and children are indicated in passages full of expressions of affectionate sentiment², in passages referring to the grief of mothers for their dead children,³ to the desire for the protection of children,⁴ to the enjoyment and pride in children.⁵ The love of children for their mothers⁶ is also portrayed, an especially notable instance of this mutual feeling being clear in the recognition scene between Creusa and Ion.⁷

The father also, it seems, was closely and affectionately associated with his children. "For all men live with an affection toward their children nor would any give up his own child to die."⁸ Hercules corroborates this

1.-Suppliants, v. 978-981.

2.-Medea, v. 1018-1082; 1235-1239.

Hippolytus, v. 311-314.

Hercules Furens, v. 279-280.

Hecuba, v. 1155-1162.

Troades, v. 771-773.

3.-Troades, v. 478-482; 735-737; 743-745; 784; 825-827; 1157-1203; 1132-1147.

Alcestis, v. 183-185.

Helen, v. 370.

Andromache, v. 444.

Hercules Furens, v. 529-531.

4.-Alcestis, v. 163-167.

Hippolytus, v. 715-717.

Andromache, v. 445-446; 44-46.

Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 622-627.

5.-Electra, v. 665-666.

Alcestis, v. 333-334.

Troades, v. 478-482.

Helen, vv. 9-10.

6.-Alcestis, v. 947-949.

Electra, v. 1103-1105.

7.-Ion, v. 1437 ff. to end of play, 1622.

8.-Phoenician Virgins, v. 966-968.

statement, "Ah! They will not quit their hold, but cling so much the faster to my garments. Were ye so near upon the edge (of death?) I will then take and lead these with my hands; like a ship will I tow these little boats. And sooth I disdain not the care of my children. All things amongst men (in this respect) are equal. Both the better class of mortals love their children, and they who are of no account. But in wealth they are different: (some) have, some not. But all the race (of mortals) is child-loving".¹

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Ion's birthday party tendered him by.....

[See next page]

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1. - Hercules Furens, v. 628-636.
2. - Ion, v. 649-667.

Xuthus is another indication of the comradeship between fathers and sons. There are many other passages such as that¹ in which Hercules' boys add to their mother's grief by continually wailing for their father, but it will be convenient only to state the impression which the evidence makes. Expressions of esteem, loyalty, and regard for the fathers by the children,² evidences of tenderness, love, sympathy on the part of the fathers for their children,³ mourning for children,⁴ ambition, provision, preservation, and protection of children,⁵ joyful reunions after war,⁶ indications that children felt some obligation to reciprocate the services done them by parents,⁷ and also vengeance of injuries received by fathers⁸, are included in the references in the notes below.

According to the passages which refer to the early training of children, it is clear that this was attended to by the mother herself, or else by a nurse under the

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- 1.--Hercules Furens, v. 69-77.
 - 2.--Suppliants, v. 1120-1162.
The Heraclidae, v. 468-470.
Orestes, v. 1603-1607.
 - 3.--Hecuba, v. 339-341.
Hercules Furens, v. 320-322; 1149-1150; 1372-1376.
Suppliants, v. 503-504.
The Heraclidae, v. 413-414.
Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1256.
Media, v. 331-332.
 - 4.--Iphigenia, v. 396-399.
Media, v. 1321-1324.
Hercules Furens, v. 329-331; 1179-1180; 1360-1369.
 - 5.--Media, v. 552-569; 609-613; 912-918; 1300-1303.
Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1208-1209.
Hercules Furens, v. 288-292; 316; 448-495; 574-575.
 - 6.--Troades, v. 20-22.
 - 7.--Suppliants, v. 361-364.
 - 8.--Suppliants, v. 1215-1226.

supervision of the mother. Sometimes the nurse was a man,¹ sometimes a woman,² again simply the mother.³ The many references to the personal attention which mothers gave their children,⁴ to the swaddling clothes in which infants were wrapped,⁵ to care in infancy,⁶ are additional indications of the watchful attention under which the child grew. One reference to the affection of the nurse for children is noteworthy: "-----but why should your children share their father's error? Why dost thou hate these? Alas me, my children, how beyond measure do I grieve lest ye suffer any evil!"⁷ It is gratifying to observe that not merely for the physical well-being of the child was the parent concerned, but also for the development of character,⁸ one that should exhibit such qualities as manliness,⁹ prudence¹⁰, and leadership.¹¹ The household servants seem to have liked the children of their master, for the messenger reports to Medea, "As soon as

1.-Medea, v. 48.

2.-Troades, v. 190 - 194.

Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 834-835.

3.-Hercules Furens, v. 893-895.

4.-Troades, v. 1173-1177.

Ion, v. 318-319; 1371; 1374-1377.

Orestes, v. 1342.

The Heraclidae, v. 709-712.

Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 219; 1253-1254.

5.-Ion, v. 1358-1359; 1416; 1492-1493.

6.-Ion, v. 876; 821.

Hecuba, v. 423.

Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1220-1228.

Hercules Furens, v. 1267-1268.

7.-Medea, v. 111-113.

8.-Suppliants, v. 912-915.

Helen, v. 942-944.

9.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1461.

10.-The Heraclidae, v. 770-773.

11.-Andromache, v. 719-720.

the two sons were come with their father, and had entered the bridal house, we servants, who were grieved at the misfortunes, were delighted;----- One kissed the hand, another the auburn head of thy sons, and I also myself followed with them to the women's apartments through joy."¹

Euripides suggests some characteristics of children and mentions several of the occupations in which they engaged. Their lack of deep feeling is brought out clearly in the lines, "But these her children are coming nither, having ceased from their exercises, nothing mindful of their mother's ills, for the mind of youth is not wont to grieve."² Lack of mental development which has been emphasized by other poets, is noted again in, "But Orestes being present, will cry out knowingly words not knowing, for he is yet an infant,"³ and particularly with regard to young girls in the lines, "Cease. It is not proper for girls to know these matters,"⁴ where the expression "these matters" refers to death and the hereafter. There are also references to the beauty of children,⁵ and the customary dislike of being left desolate, while some of the occupations referred to, such as chasing the deer,⁶ or

1.-Medea, v. 1136-1143.

2.-Medea, v. 40-43.

3.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 465-467.

4.-Iphigenia in Aulis, 866-867.

5.-Hercules Furens, v. 118-121.

6.-Ion, v. 964-968.

tending sheep,¹ throw light upon their work and play. The boy Ion grew up in the temple, apparently acting as altar-boy.² It was clearly customary also, for children to be included among mourners³ and even to bear the remains in the funeral procession.⁴ One additional indication that children played an important rôle in religious rites is apparent from the words of Alcmena: "but you drove me also, and my children, out of all Greece, sitting as suppliants of the Gods, some old, and some still infants."⁵

I group together the references to orphans, illegitimate children, guardians, and step-mothers, because the contrast between children whose own parents were spared to them, and children less fortunate, is significant. The words of Eumelus refer both to orphanage and his grief for his mother: "Alas for me, my state! my mother is gone indeed below; she is no longer, my father, under the sun, but unhappy, leaving me, has made my life an orphan's. For look, look at her eyelid and her nerveless arms. Hear, hear, O mother, I beseech thee; I, I now call thee mother, thy young one falling on thy mouth-----young and deserted, my father, am I left by my dear mother. O! I

1.-Cyclops, v. 25-26; 71-73.

2.-Ion, v. 101-103.

3.-Hercules Furens, v. 439-446.

4.-Suppliants, v. 106-107.

5.-Helen, v. 1278.

Suppliants, v. 1165-1167; 1185-1188.

5.-The Heraclidae, v. 952-954.

that have suffered, indeed, dreadful deeds! ---and thou hast suffered with me, my sister. O father, in vain, in vain, didst thou marry, nor with her didst thou arrive at the end of old age, for she perished before, but thou being gone, mother, the house is undone."¹ This is but one of the several references² which indicate the same attitude of distress with regard to orphanage. The old theories regarding the sins of the fathers and the innocent who suffer for the guilty, are brought to mind by the lines, "A pretty custom forsooth that children must pay the price of a bad woman,"³ and, "For that which is not honorable can never be honorable, as neither can children, the unhallowed offspring of the mother, the pollution of the father."⁴ However orphan and illegitimate children in Euripides' plays, though intolerant of their plights, seem to have been loved and cared for in every case where a guardian is mentioned. Beginning with the case of Ion whom Loxias trains up, " for aside from her determination to throw him out, her pity got the best of her, "⁵ and including Orestes' guardian,⁶ staunch old Iolaus,⁷ the

1.-Alcestis, v. 402-415.

2.-Hercules Furens, v. 544-547.

Hippolytus, v. 799.

Suppliants, v. 1126-1128.

3.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1170-1171.

4.-Phoenician Virgins, v. 819-822.

5.-Ion, v. 49-50.

6.-Orestes, v. 462-466.

7.-The Heraclidae, v. 8-10; 21-26; 32-34; 92-93; 297-299; 321-324; 339-341; 424-461; 623-624.

rather of Hercules who was left in charge of his children,¹ and the old attendant of both Agamemnon and his children,² this affection and loyalty of the guardians for their charges is conspicuous. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that there were exceptions to these felicitous relationships. References to step-mothers indicate the proverbial friction and bear out the assumption that some orphans fared better than others. Thus I find, "Never will I commend the two-fold nuptials of mortals, nor children sprung from different mothers, a strife at home, and hostile grief,"³ and again, "Right. For they say that step-dames have grudging against children,"⁴ and finally, "Wives are always wont to be hostile to children previously begotten."⁵ It is evident therefore, that the child who grew up under the immediate attention of his own parents was much more fortunate than the child who was the victim of some domestic infelicity.

The poet does not omit to describe some of the outrages against children, though the fact that most of them were committed in war is sufficient explanation of them. There are references to children taken as hostages,⁶ to

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- 1.-Hercules Furens, v. 40-43; 218-220; 222-229; 662-664.
 - 2.-Electra, v. 14-17; 292-295; 409-416; 483-484.
 - 3.-Andromache, v. 463-465.
 - 4.-Ion, v. 1024-1025.
 - 5.-Ion, v. 1326.
 - 6.-Troades, v. 1090-1095.
Rhesus, v. 431-432.

the cruel destruction and loss of children,¹ to the children whose war-thirsty fathers made them oblivious to domestic responsibilities,² to children's terror of war,³ to fugitives with their children.⁴ The lives of children were endangered also on occasions of religious rites, such as sacrifices⁵ and the fanatical jubilations of the Bacchae.⁶ The guilt of Agamemnon seems to have been unpardonable in the poet's eyes, for Clytaemnestra says, "Thou didst wed me unwilling, and obtained me by force, having slain Tantalus my former husband and having dashed my infant living, to the ground, having torn him by force from my breast."⁷ However, in judging this incident, it must be remembered that the plot of the story is based upon a myth which, as in his other plays, Euripides does not change, possibly because, as has been suggested, he wished to set forth the weakness as well as the strength of human nature.

One of Euripides' most striking and truthful observations is the paradox regarding the pleasure and pain involved in rearing families. There are several references⁸ to this point, but Andromache sums up the matter:

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- 1.-Andromache, v. 6-9; 1032-1035.
 - 2.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 794-798.
 - 3.-Troades, v. 537-543.
 - 4.-Andromache, v. 750-754.
 - 5.-Ion, v. 281-282.
 - 6.-Bacchae, v. 755.
 - 7.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1150-1153.
 - 8.-Orestes, v. 541-542.
 Alceste, v. 877-882.
 Medea, v. 1090-1107.
 Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 656-659.

"Truly to all mankind their children is their life; but whoever is unexperienced (in children) and blames me (for this sentiment) feels less pain, indeed, but happy is though harless."¹

Euripides also produces the same impression already gained from his predecessors, as that with regard to the respective fortune or misfortune of those who had or did not have children. Childlessness seems to have been regarded as a sign of divine displeasure, for I find, "Medea: 'By the Gods, tell me, dost thou live this life nitherto childless?' Aegeus: 'Childless I am, by the disposal of some deity.'"² There are passages which refer to childlessness in a general way,³ and several which seem to emphasize the regret and disappointment with which this affliction was endured.⁴ Naturally the disfavor of the gods was thought to be disastrous, as in the lines, "What calamity, then, can befall a woman, save in respect to her nuptial bed, children not being yet born?"⁵ It appears

1.-Andromache, v. 417-420.

2.-Medea, v. 669-670.

3.-Troadés, v. 380-381.

Andromache, v. 709-712; 31-32; 357; 707.

Alcestis, v. 617-620; 651-654; 735-736.

4.-Suppliants, v. 960.

Helen, v. 694.

5.-Ion, v. 816; 837-839; 865-868; 946; 1310-1312; 1375; 1462; 656-657.

Rhesus, v. 906; 981.

Phoenician Vergius, v. 11.

Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 211.

Hercules Furens, v. 885.

4.-Hecuba, v. 820-821.

Ion, v. 790-791; 803-808; 612-614.

5.-Andromache, v. 905-906.

found

that the remedy for the malady wasⁿ to be in the goas themselves.¹ It is certain too, that the childless husband did not have the same responsibility so far as conjugal fidelity went as the father of a family, for Medea says to Jason, "for if thou wert still childless, it would beardonable in thee to be enamoured of this alliance."² But such a liberty did not affect the desire for children, because the fortune of those who possess children is described in one of the finest passages I have found for this discussion. "For it conveys surpassing happiness to mortals, an undisturbed resource (to those) for whom prolific youths shine flourishing in paternal chambers, as being about to possess wealth in succession from their sires to other children; for 'tis a strength in troubles, and pleasant good fortune, and in war bears help to the country. To me, indeed, may the nurturing care of good children be before wealth and the nuptials of kings; but a childless life I abhor, and I blame him who approves it. But with moderate possessions, may I possess a life with good offspring."³ That children were considered as wealth⁴, glory,⁵ strong supports⁶, dear possessions,⁷ bestowed upon mortals by the favor of the gods,⁸ and desir-

1.-Medea, v. 713-717.

Ion, v. 63-65; 308-313; 763-764.

3.-Ion, v. 463-473.

4.-Hercules Furens, v. 64-66.

5.-Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1398-1400.

6.-Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 55-56.

7.-Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 1068-1072.

The Heraclidae, v. 591-593.

8.-Ion, v. 404-406; 408-409; 423-425.

2.-Medea, v. 488-489.

able also for dynastic reasons¹, is abundantly evident.

There remain/ the references to children as they are involved in the various plots of the tragedies. These passages are significant because they reflect Euripides' reaction to the customs and attitude of Greeks who lived in the early period from which the traditional myths come. The story set forth in the *Orestes* and the *Electra* presents the problem of divided loyalty on the part of the children, who treated by this poet, are revengeful against their mother² to a degree which the later Greeks clearly did not approve. Because of his great affection for his children, Jason³ seems to have been punished far more severely by the death of his children than by the loss of his own life. It is true that Pheres was not willing to give his life for Admetus, but the fact that the son was a full-grown man and not a helpless child, and also that Pheres was under no moral or legal⁴ obligation to make the sacrifice, justifies the old man in some measure. However, responsibility in such a situation would depend upon circumstances, for even to-day the most altruistic parent would be apt to hesitate before accepting it. Desire for revenge⁵

1.-*Iphigenia in Tauris*, v. 694-698.

2.-*Orestes*, v. 566-571.

3.-*Medea*, v. 572-575; 1309-1414.

4.-*Alcestis*, v. 682-683.

5.-*The Heraclidae*, v. 163-166; 463-470; 997-1002.

in the Heraclidae was prompted not so much by thirst for innocent blood as by loyalty to the old patriarchal family, which amounted to a restricted variety of patriotism. The Iphigenia incident has been changed in part by Euripides from the tale of a mere cruel sacrifice made by a relentless father to the representation of the Greek conception of the greatest offering a human being could make. The frequency¹ with which Euripides harks back to the theme of the murder of Hercules' sons to prevent revenge for their father's death, clearly indicates that he did not justify the action on the grounds of the kind of patriarchal patriotism, but that the atrocity of the crime deserved the indignation which reiteration and publicity could give it. Throughout the play the poet elicits the reader's sympathy with Ion, so that it is plain that he was indignant about Creusa's plot, but it is not hard to imagine how a childless woman living in an early period of Greek civilization might be tempted to make such an attempt against the supposedly illegitimate son of her husband. The references to this plot, therefore, are valuable because they imply disgust and impatience of Euripides for the uncontrolled and barbarous display of angry passion which was made in the earlier days. Likewise in *Andromache* the poet creates the impression that the plot to kill As-

 1.-Hercules Furens, v. 303; 436; 449-456; 520; 545; 599; 704; 722-723; 830-840; 914-921; 973-998; 1010-1011; 1029-1030; 1059-1061; 1129; 1227; 1232; 1289; 1359; 1363; 1379.

tyanax is regarded also as an inexcusable crime, and is shown to have been prompted by Hermione's jealousy of Andromache because of the former's childlessness. It seems that Hermione's intention was to bear children not because she desired and loved them, but merely because she feared to alienate her husband's affections and perhaps to foil her dynastic ambition if she remained without them. The problem then, becomes one of jealousy and ambition but it is clear that Euripides did not consider that the end justified the means.

One further indication of the emphasis which Euripides placed upon children is shown in the fact that going one step further than Sophocles, who has a boy mute in the Antigone,¹ Oedipus the King², and the Aias³, this poet has a mute in Troades⁴, while in the Medea⁵ each child speaks a line or two and then the two in unison, off the stage to be sure, but audible to the audience. More notable still, is the appearance⁶ of the children in the Alcestis and the lines⁷ spoken by Eumelus over the body of his mother. The words from his lips are not those which a child would be

1.-Antigone, v. 988.

2.-Oedipus the King, v. 444.

3.-Aias, v. 545-595; 786-814; 958-1421.

4.-Troades, v. 776-778.

5.-Medea, v. 1267-1268; 1269; 1274-1275.

6.-Alcestis, v. 243.

7.-Alcestis, v. 402-407; 410-415.

likely to utter on such an occasion, but they are consistent with the representation of children in art as early as the fifth century, when they appear as fully developed but miniature adults. A striking example of the realism with which a child is likely to speak of the death of a relative is found in the lines, "O beloved routn, that used to utter many a boast, thou hast perished; thou hast deceived me, since, clinging fast to my garments, thou wouldst say, 'O mother, truly will I cut off many locks of my hair for thee, and to thy tomb will lead my compeers, presenting a friendly address (to thy name).'"¹ In *Hercules Furens*², the messenger reports the exact words of the boy. The fact that children were allowed to appear on the stage, and even were given a few lines in the plays, is not only a distinct innovation but an indication of their rising importance.

In conclusion, it appears that Euripides not only holds the same attitude toward children as his predecessors, but he deserves to be called the literary champion of the children of Greek antiquity, because at all times he displays interest, insight, and sympathy such as we have found in Homer and he outstrips even Aeschylus in the number of his references.³ Of course his subject matter permits many ref-

1.-Troades, v. 1179-1184.

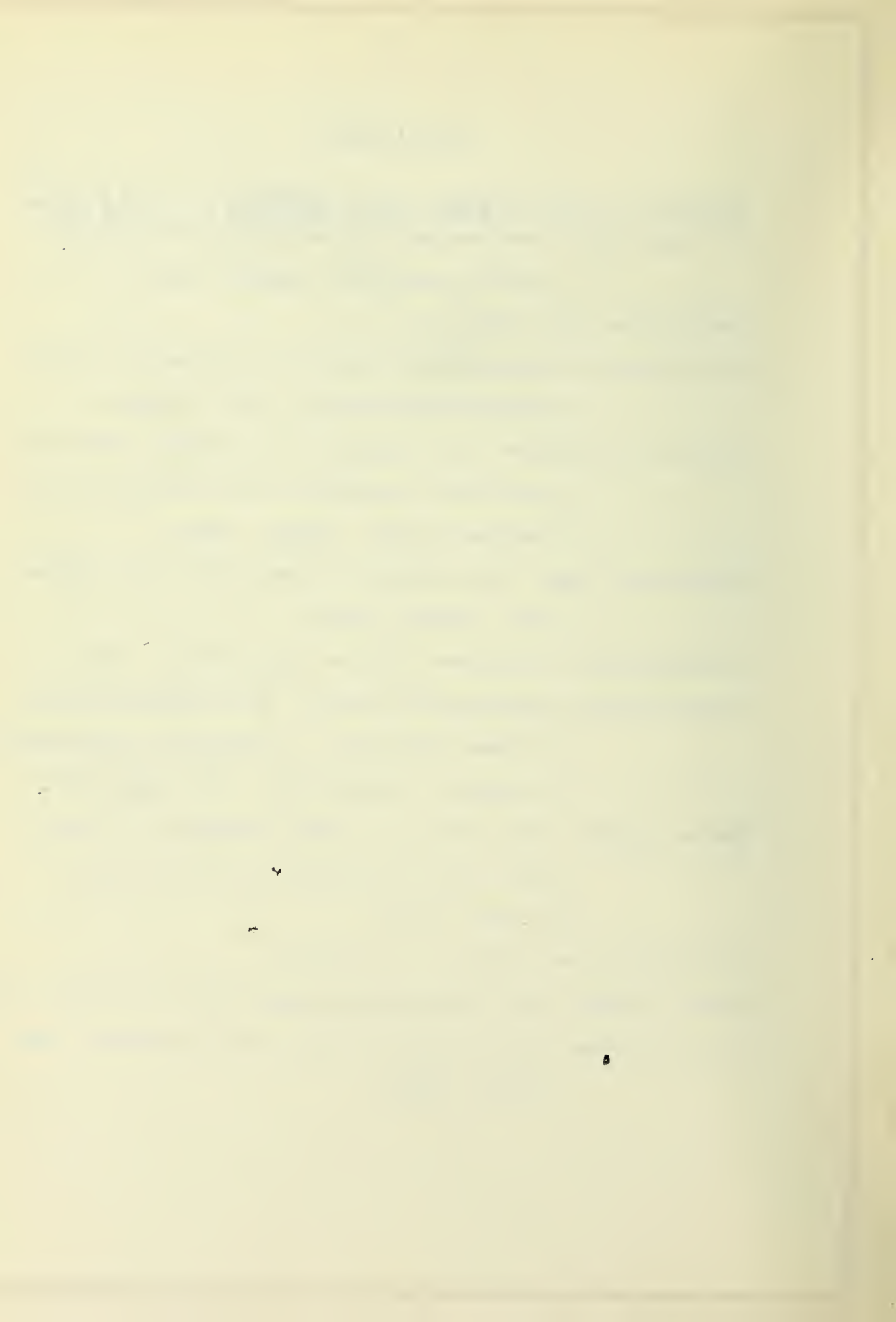
2.-Hercules Furens, v. 988-990.

3.-Total number lines in Aeschylus, 8099; number of references 33. Total number lines in Euripides, 24,538; number of references exclusive of those connected with the plots, 202. The references in Euripides exceed those in Aeschylus by the multiple 1.9+. For relative quantity of references in Aeschylus compared with Homer, see Ch. VI.

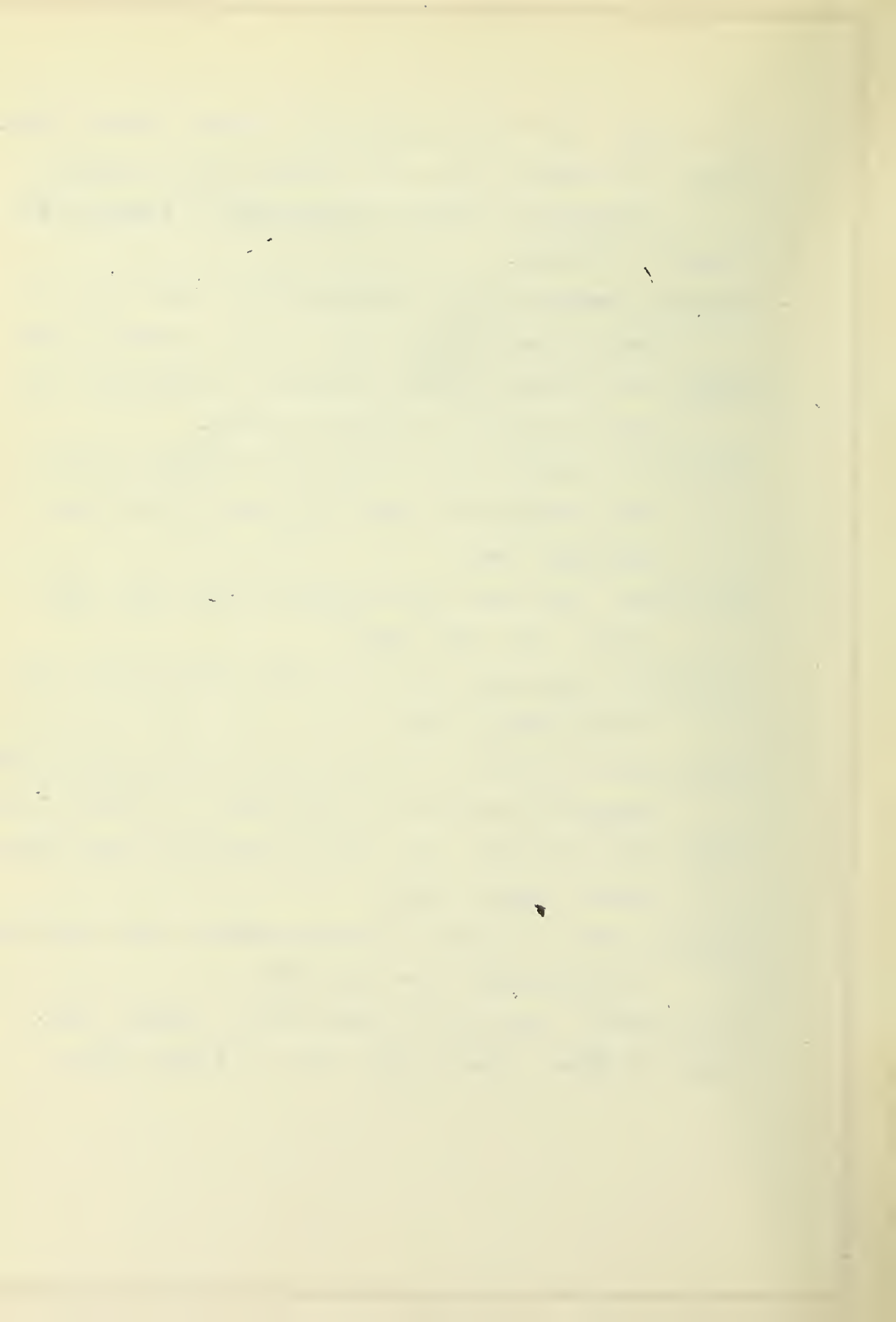
erences to family life but the plots do not always necessitate the introduction of children. and at the same time his general frame of mind may be deduced to some extent from the terms which he selected for portrayal. Perhaps Croiset when he says, "Less and less respect was paid to loyalty, the bonds of friendship or family affection"----- refers to the early Greeks whose lives and character are portrayed in the legends which Euripides uses as the bases of his tragedies, but in no instance have I found that the poet sympathized with the suffering which the children in these myths had to endure. The poet's interest in these myths seems to have been involved in the study of the emotional qualities of his characters, and in cases where the frailties of mortals caused pain for little children, he is always and unmistakably their defender and champion.

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